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Kozyrev, Juppe Call For Meeting on Bosnia

AU2704131294 Paris AFP in English 1245 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Geneva, April 27 (AFP)—The Russian and French foreign ministers Wednesday called for a rapid ministerial meeting to examine a new international peace effort on Bosnia, and renewed their calls for a summit on the conflict. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his French counterpart Alain Juppe spoke after meeting at the Russian embassy here as part of the new four-sided contact group formed in London Monday [25 April] to coordinate policy to end the war in Bosnia- Hercegovina.

The two ministers said the "ministerial meeting should be held as quickly as possible" after the contact group submits its report on Bosnia, which they said was due a week from now. The contact group comprises representatives of the United States, Russia, the European Union and the United Nations.

"We must not let this opportunity go by. We have agreed that the contact group has one week to submit its report which is to be examined as quickly as possible during a ministerial meeting," Kozyrev said.

"We must act quickly, we must step up pressure to hold this ministerial meeting and a summit that Russia and France have called for," said Juppe at a joint press conference.

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who met here with Kozyrev on Tuesday, said afterwards that members of the contact group would be in Sarajevo on Thursday and Friday to meet with Moslem and Serb officials on resurrecting peace talks.

Juppe and Kozyrev—who heads on to Bonn Thursday for talks with German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel—said Wednesday they felt a European-brokered peace plan for Bosnia was still valid. But they said that if the belligerents could not agree on how to divide Bosnia, the contact group would present "its own proposal" for the country's division. [passage omitted]

Christopher and Kozyrev had stressed after their meeting that Washington and Moscow were pursuing joint aims in Bosnia and shared the view that the trouble there cannot be solved militarily. [passage omitted]

Russia has been fiercely critical of any use of NATO air strikes in Bosnia, but has conceded that from now on such "extreme measures" would be justifiable for major problems. It has insisted however on the necessity a political solution to the conflict.

Kozyrev told the press conference Wednesday that the use of force "depends on concrete situations." "When the fighters transgress international norms by shelling hospitals and villages," it would be justified, the Russian minister said. [passage omitted]

NATO 'Standing Firm' After Ultimatum

AU2704103094 Paris AFP in English 1009 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 27 (AFP)—NATO is standing firm after expiry of its ultimatum to Bosnian Serbs to pull back heavy weapons from the eastern town of Gorazde but is not sabre-rattling, British envoy John Weston said here Wednesday.

In comments to journalists on the Bosnian Serbs' apparent compliance with the NATO ultimatum, under threat of air strikes, the ambassador said: "We're very pleased, yes, but there is no gung- hoism in this alliance. We're firm but not gung-ho." The sequence of events showed that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization could make a contribution to the United Nations in Bosnia when required "and do it properly and effectively," Weston said.

Asked about air strikes on other UN protected zones, he refused to speculate, adding: "I just hope the lesson has been learned. I think we're building on the valuable experience of Sarajevo. If it's working also in Gorazde, so much the better."

"By 2:01 Brussels time (0001 GMT), when the deadline for the withdrawal of Bosnian Serbs' heavy weapons from the 20 kilometers (12-mile) exclusion zone around Gorazde expired, there was evidence of compliance with the NATO ultimatum," A NATO spokesman said early Wednesday.

As a result of this evidence, NATO southern commander Admiral Leighton Smith and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] "have agreed that airstrikes are not necessary for the moment," the spokesman added. "We will however remain vigilant and we reiterate our determination to conduct airstrikes in coordination with UNPROFOR if Gorazde and other safe areas in Bosnia are attacked or existing exclusion zones are violated".

Berov Speaks on Reform Plans, Cabinet Changes

AU2704134294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Our reporter at the National Assembly, Antoaneta Kuncheva, briefly summarizes what has happened so far at the National Assembly session, including the declaration on the government's intentions read by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov.

[Kuncheva] Prime Minister Berov kept his promise and addressed the National Assembly. However, he did not present a draft of structural changes but instead read a declaration on the future intentions of the government. The declaration contained promises on updating the government's program and adopting measures aimed at stabilizing the country in the economic and social spheres, and also something that resembled an explanation of the need to effect changes in the posts of deputy prime ministers and in the leaderships of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Trade.

An urgent meeting of the National Assembly Council is discussing at present whether it is admissible to open a parliamentary debate on the prime minister's declaration and whether this conforms to National Assembly regulations.

Karabashev Submits Resignation

AU2804073594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 28 Apr 94

[Text] At the start of the news I will read to our listeners an announcement we received a few minutes ago from our government reporter, Kalina Stancheva:

At the start of today's cabinet session Valentin Karabashev submitted to the prime minister his resignation from the posts of trade minister and deputy prime minister. He said that he does not accept as well-founded the attacks that Prime Minister Berov made in his parliamentary statement yesterday against his work as minister of trade and deputy prime minister, accusing him of forgetting about privatization and failing to provide assessment reports on the work of the Trade Ministry. He said that the cabinet changes envisaged by the prime minister did not coincide with his own views.

These in short seem to be the motives for Karabashev's resignation, which will take effect if it is accepted by the National Assembly.

In this connection, National Assembly Deputy Asen Michkovski announced that he will propose to the New Alliance for Democracy parliamentary group to start collecting signatures for a petition asking for the parliamentary Easter vacation to be curtailed. In Michkovski's view, the fact is that we are in a government crisis and the National Assembly should be reconvened as soon as possible.

U.S. Requests Overflights; Karabashev Statement

AU2804111694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 28 Apr 94

[Report by correspondent Kalina Stancheva on the 28 April session of the Council of Ministers in Sofia—live]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has received two notes from the U.S. Embassy dated 11 April, requesting permission for six U.S. Air Force F-16 combat aircraft to transit Bulgarian airspace today, and for a further four fighters to do the same tomorrow. The planes will fly to the (?Incirlik) air base, and will not carry ammunition on board. They will be used to patrol the no-fly zone in northern Iraq.

The Bulgarian Army General Staff finds no reasons to object to the requests, but as a result of a vote by the individual ministers, the government unanimously decided to refer the request to the National Assembly.

The National Assembly is also expected to make a decision on another problem submitted by the cabinet. Three hours ago Valentin Karabashev, deputy prime minister and trade minister, submitted his resignation from both his posts. He asked for space to be made on the agenda for him to present his statement. The statement mentions serious differences within the government that have developed since mid-1993 regarding the amendments to the Privatization Act, the military-industrial complex, the energy industry, and the privatization of hotels. The statement also refers to the lack of confidence and the administrational chaos created by the combining of the deputy prime ministers' functions since the fall of 1993. Among the motives pointed out, the statement mentions the prime minister's attempts to circumvent government decisions and to promote his own personal ideas about privatization, and the major attacks in his statement yesterday, which Karabashev regards as unfounded. He considers the assessment of the work of the Trade Ministry as based on intrigues and denunciations.

The Alternative Social Liberal Party [ASP] backs Valentin Karabashev's decision and, as the members of its leadership stated, if the decision is made for the ASP to withdraw from the cabinet, they will recommend that Minister Bikov resign as well.

Yordanov Claims New Elections 'Only Way Out'

AU2704121894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] In an interview on Khorizont's "Konkurenti" [Competitors] program this morning, National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov said that the only way out of the political situation that is developing is to hold early parliamentary elections. He described everything else as halfhearted, obscure, and vague. The country needs a government that has the will to push the reform through, the speaker of parliament stressed. He pointed out that the present problems are connected with the

policies of the majority, to which he himself does not belong, so his conscience is clear.

Aleksandur Yordanov revealed his conviction that it is now the turn of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to make a move. He said that the BSP should either commit itself more firmly to the Lyuben Berov cabinet or it should withdraw its support, pointing out that the BSP is waging a losing battle in either case.

Berov, Tomov Discuss Government 'Changes'

AU2604173994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Prime Minister Lyuben Berov met with Aleksandur Tomov, leader of the Civil Alliance for the Republic [GOR], on 26 April and discussed with him the upcoming structural changes in the government.

Aleksandur Tomov described the meeting as a normal and routine meeting. He said that he opposes the attempt by certain political forces to utilize the grave economic situation in the country to put pressure on the government. According to Aleksandur Tomov, to prevent the emergence of a vacuum in the government and economic stagnation, the political forces must reach a consensus on the issue of what changes are needed by Lyuben Berov's government. The GOR has serious opinions on the cabinet's economic team, but it will not participate in political haggling over ministerial posts or propose ministers, Aleksandur Tomov said.

FYROM President Visits, Meets With Zhelev

AU2604171394 Skopje MIC in English 26 Apr 94

[Text] At the invitation of the President of the Republic of Bulgaria Zhelyu Zhelev, the President of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Kiro Gligorov arrived on a two day official visit to Sofia yesterday, heading the Macedonian delegation.

The official welcoming ceremony with all state honors was held at the "Hall 1" of the residence "Boyana." After the intonation of the hymns of both countries, President Gligorov addressed the honorary guard. Immediately following this, the talks between the two presidents, in four eyes [as published], began. That same afternoon, the talks between the two delegations also began. After the talks, the two presidents gave short statements for the press:

"I feel that what was written in the press, that a historic meeting should not be expected, was not confirmed. I believe that this meeting is of historic character," Bulgarian President Zhelev said. "Not only because this is the first official visit of President Gligorov, but also because this visit opens a new era in the development of relations between the two countries." The Bulgarian President assessed the talks as fruitful, as "there literally is not one field in which the two countries cannot cooperate." Reminding that there is excellent cooperation in the sphere of economy, Zhelev said: "If we sign an agreement on mutual cultural cooperation, it will be even better."

On the same note as President Zhelev, President Gligorov said: "We also discussed many other questions of bilateral character, for example, the linking of the energetic systems, the gas line, etc." Gligorov informed that military issues, that is, military cooperation was also included in the talks, adding that the two defense ministries might soon sign an agreement. They also discussed the connection in the processes of European integration and initiative, the NATO "Partnership for Peace" project, for which Macedonia is showing particular interest, and the two sides exchanged views on issues of international character, particularly the Balkans and the Bosnian crisis. President Gligorov insisted on the definition of the principles of good neighborly relations, as, according to his estimation "Macedonia's independence is connected with the identity of the people."

The two statesmen also talked about the problem that developed with the failure to reach the agreement on scientific cooperation between the two countries. According to reports, the Bulgarian side says that it was emphasized during the talks that conditions for a bilateral agreement had been created. It was even proposed for this agreement to be expanded and to encircle certain open questions, which would finally be solved. The Macedonian side accepted this idea. However, no details were mentioned in the talks.

According to protocol, today morning President Gligorov is expected to meet with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. However, as it has been found out, due to the health condition of the prime minister, Gligorov will most probably be received by his deputy Evgeni Matinchev.

Gligorov Addresses National Assembly

AU2604144794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1241 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Speech by Kiro Gligorov, president of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, to the Bulgarian National Assembly in Sofia—live, in Macedonian]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed Deputies, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great honor and a responsibility to have the opportunity today to address you, the people's representatives of the Republic of Bulgaria, to speak at this loftiest institution, the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria, and to address the Bulgarian people and all the citizens of your land through you.

I would like to convey to you the greetings of all the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], the greetings of all

Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, and members of all the nationalities who live in our land. I convey to you their warm greetings and best wishes for the prosperity of your country and for the well-being and success of all your citizens, as well as for success in your responsible work. These greetings also signify full support for your efforts for the democratic transformation of Bulgaria in an historic period of transition.

On the other hand, it also means support for your efforts for peace, understanding, and good-neighborly relations between the Macedonian and Bulgarian peoples and among all Balkan nations and states.

These greetings also express Macedonia's striving to develop, on the broadest possible basis, good-neighborly relations and mutual selfless cooperation with Bulgaria at all levels.

In this context, I would like to say that Bulgaria being the first to recognize the independence of the Republic of Macedonia was an act of great historical importance. [applause] This not only opened a new era in neighborly relations and cooperation, but also was a major contribution to future cooperation between the Bulgarian and Macedonian peoples. Furthermore, this was a major contribution to peace and stability in the southern Balkans.

Adhering to political realism has proved to be the best means of overcoming various historical elements of distrust, frustrations, and unfortunate oversights between the Macedonian and Bulgarian peoples.

Ladies and gentlemen, the great changes that have taken place in the last few years on the territory of the former SFRY allowed the Republic of Macedonia finally, after a long struggle, to achieve its total independence as an internationally recognized legal entity. This was an expression of the century-long striving of the Macedonian people for their own state, created by peaceful and democratic means, with the maximum participation of the widest people's initiative on a political and pluralistic basis. As a result of the referendum and the free elections, for the past four years our country has been steadily constructing a political, social, and parliamentary democracy of a modern European type. Conditions are being created for establishing and activating the market economy. The free creative initiatives of the people are being released in the economic and other spheres. Thus the political, economic, and social character of the country is being changed. This is a precondition for constructing the Republic of Macedonia as a stable and democratic European state, a land of free people and citizens, regardless of their ethnic, social, national, religious, or any other affiliations.

Within this framework we have created new space for the development, expression, and affirmation of Macedonian creativity, science, and culture. Drawing from their ancient national, cultural, and political traditions, personnified today by the free Macedonian state, and in cooperation with the other Balkan, European, and non-European nations, the Macedonian people are today discovering broad prospects for effecting a comprehensive national and social upsurge.

Our country, like many others at the present time, is experiencing a difficult period of transition, with many inherited and newly emerged difficulties of an internal and international character. We are committed to a peaceful policy, exclusively based on peaceful and democratic means and cooperation and conducted through a dialogue of a bilateral and broader international nature. How do we see Macedonia? Independent Macedonia is a peaceful and stable Balkan state with a European orientation. It is a factor for comprehensive peace and stability in the Balkans. It is a state with open borders and an affirmed policy of good-neighborly relations.

Unfortunately, we live in a region where a tragic war is being waged in our immediate vicinity. We witness daily this war's horrible repercussions, the ethnic cleansing, international and interreligious hatred, the encroachment of borders by force, all of which brings back our fresh memories of the totalitarian and quasi-democratic systems in the Balkans, the ideological confrontation of the Cold War, and the division of the region into blocs. Unfortunately, Balkan history is full of wars, clashes, international hatred, and nationalistic deceptions. Therefore, today we all must draw lessons from history and utilize them to the benefit of free men and our nations, and with a due sense of responsibility, now more than ever before, for turning the present world into a good place in which we should all learn to live together. Everyone should live his own life, but each one of us alongside the other, with each helping the other.

Factors such as good-neighborly relations and confidence could be the key to achieving peace and stability in the Balkans. In addition, it is especially important to adhere to the principle of respect for the existing borders between states and the rights of minorities, resolving all problems through political and peaceful means. In our country, we are trying to improve relations among peoples and international relations alike. In this manner, we managed to stay out of the war and make a contribution to peace and stability in the region. In this enterprise, we were guided by the lasting interests of the Macedonian people and all our citizens, as well as their striving to live in conditions of peace and good-neighborly relations in the Balkans and Europe. We are convinced that this is also in the interest of others, including the Bulgarian people and all the citizens of the Republic of Bulgaria. It is our duty to express this interest in material form on the basis of total neighborly trust, friendship, and cooperation between us and our peoples. In this way, all of us together could turn the Balkans into a region of peace, freedom, and cooperation.

In this context, I would like to impart my belief that only in this manner will we be able to combine most effectively the processes of European integration, of the large, so-called European home, and extend this home into the

Balkans. The Republic of Macedonia is firmly following this road and is prepared to cooperate with all Balkan and European countries. I would venture the belief that within this context Bulgaria and Macedonia have identical views, interests, and methods of work.

Because of the policy that our country has been following, within a brief period of time we have achieved broad international recognition and affirmation. We became a member of the United Nations and of a large number of international organizations. We established friendly and diplomatic relations with dozens of European and non-European countries. We cooperate for achieving peace with all members of the international community and are striving toward our integration in the European structures.

From a domestic viewpoint, we are preoccupied with adopting measures for economic stabilization and strengthening the institutions of power. In this context, I can say that while all this is being effected under very difficult conditions of transition and external pressure, we have succeeded in creating a rule-of-law state and a parliamentary democracy. Simultaneously, precisely like Bulgaria, many of our difficulties result from the strong effects and the consequences of the international sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. The Macedonian economy is suffering great losses because of these sanctions. So far, these losses amount to about $3 billion. However, this is not everything.

For two months now, Macedonia has been exposed to the unjustified and unilateral measures of the Greek Government. A strict embargo on our exports and imports was established. Our country was almost hermetically sealed off. Because of this embargo, our economy is incurring direct losses of more than $60 million every month. The embargo has grave consequences not only for our economy but also for our country's social life. However, with great economic sacrifices we are resisting this situation. According to the IMF, we are conducting a successful struggle against inflation. We became a member of all international financial institutions. We began to systematically resolve all problems related to privatization and to intensify the process of privatization and transformation of the larger economic systems. For this purpose, we need various kinds of economic aid.

We attach special importance to developing our infrastructure and our relations with our neighbors in this context. We regard the construction of the East-West main road-rail link, to which Macedonia, Albania, Turkey, and Italy, as well as other international institutions, have committed themselves, as an investment in developing the whole of southeast Europe.

The construction of the railroad, which will connect our two countries for the first time, will become a new, important factor of great significance for developing Bulgarian-Macedonian economic and other cooperation more successfully.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, we live at a time of great changes. Therefore, we all bear a great responsibility to our peoples, while at the same time we are trying to resolve problems of vital importance for present and future generations. Speaking about Macedonia, I can say with a full sense of responsibility that we are firmly determined to direct peacefully all our strivings and efforts toward strengthening the free and independent status of the Republic of Macedonia. We assumed such a commitment to our people through the independence referendum. This commitment also stems from our Constitution, which stresses that the Macedonian nation is based on the principle of self-determination, an aspiration that our people expressed in the referendum on the establishment of the independent Republic of Macedonia. We view this as a historic task and a responsibility toward our people. Simultaneously, we feel a sense of responsibility to the historic heroism of our ancestors, who for centuries struggled for their Macedonian national name and dignity. We are also responsible for the future of the younger generation, which should enjoy a better life than us. With democratic means and the criteria of modern times, we will create both the present and future life.

Ladies and gentlemen, dear Bulgarian friends, Macedonia adheres to the principle of good-neighborly relations. Being situated in the very center of the Balkans, at the very crossroads, Macedonia has the privilege of having four different borders with four nations and states, with which it has been destined to share both good and bad. The history of relations with the Balkan states and peoples is a long and complicated one. It is full of many conflicts and misunderstandings, which often related to Macedonia or neighboring territory.

Unfortunately, we are witnesses of the fact that problems still exist among the individual Balkan states. We too are involved in serious disputes, such as the one with our southern neighbor. However, past experience shows that when each state strives to resolve the problems on the basis of equal dialogue the danger for the Balkan region can be eliminated. Even the most complex problem can be resolved by peaceful means. Neighborly trust can be directly and responsibly established as a precondition for resolving any problem. This is an instrument that can eliminate all sources of conflicts and instability in the Balkan region.

The international community, through the documents of the United Nations and the CSCE, has created powerful instruments for establishing relations between states based on confidence and respect. Thus, a powerful basis for respecting human freedoms was also established.

In Macedonia, the democratic foundation for respecting human rights is very firm. This includes the rights of members of the ethnic minorities. We incorporated these minorities by establishing our state upon the principles of modern civilization. In effecting peaceful coexistence within our country, we are actually working for stability not only in our country but also in the entire region. This

is our contribution to peace, good-neighborly relations, and cooperation in the Balkans.

Ladies and gentlemen, National Assembly representatives, in conclusion please allow me to say a few more words. I would like to express my great pleasure at being invited by President Zhelev to visit your country. I had the opportunity to have a broad exchange of views on the most important issues of Bulgarian-Macedonian relations and cooperation. I am convinced that, as a result of the talks that I had with President Zhelev and other Bulgarian politicians, our relations will obtain new positive stimuli, from which we will both benefit. We have reason to look forward to fruitful cooperation in all spheres and to open borders between our countries, based in law, as it should be between two equal and sovereign states. I believe that we have contributed to developing good-neighborly relations between our two neighboring states and mutual friendship between the Bulgarian and Macedonian peoples, as two kindred peoples. There are prospects and possibilities for even closer cooperation in the future. You and the Macedonian parliamentarians must make joint efforts to establish friendly and fruitful Bulgarian-Macedonian relations.

During those two days, we also had the opportunity to continue our dialogue on the most important international issues, especially those of a regional character. I noted with satisfaction a great coincidence of our assessments of the war in Bosnia, namely that it is possible to resolve the conflict through a peace treaty and by respecting the rights of all the peoples that live in this state. No one dares to support this war. We noted the vital interest of both Macedonia and Bulgaria in ending the war, something that will facilitate the progress of both countries. We reached an agreement to consult one another on resolving other open issues in the region, as a step toward building a new Balkan house of European prominence, one that is attractive to all the Balkan peoples.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, please allow me to thank you once again for the opportunity to address you from this lofty rostrum. I wish you, all the National Assembly representatives, and all the citizens of the Republic of Bulgaria, much success and prosperity. [applause]

Zhelev, Gligorov Comment on Visit

AU2604171094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] The Yugoslav embargo and its consequences for Bulgaria and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], a more rapid association of the two countries with European structures, and a more active development of economic relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia were the topics that Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov discussed with Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev and National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov today.

The Macedonian head of state and President Zhelyu Zhelev gave a concluding joint news conference. The historic character of the visit was stressed again. Here are some excerpts from the statements made by President Zhelev and President Gligorov during the news conference.

[Begin Zhelev recording] We established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Macedonia first at the level of consulates general and afterward at the level of a diplomatic mission, in other words, an embassy. Trade and economic relations have developed rapidly. I will allow myself to recall that at the beginning of 1991 trade between the two countries amounted to $90 million, but by 1993 it had reached $290 million. The dynamic and irrepressible development of trade and economic relations shows, among other things, that our official interstate relations are lagging behind the natural process of development. [end recording]

[Begin Gligorov recording, in Macedonian] I must say that we have had a good and serious exchange of views with the Bulgarian leadership on international issues and on cooperation in the United Nations and other international organizations, which are matters of common interest, and that signs of full trust and sincere cooperation are more and more evident. [end recording]

The anticipated signing of documents between Bulgaria and Macedonia during this first official visit by the Macedonian president to our country was postponed because of a language problem that was raised by the Macedonian side.

The official ceremony related to the departure of the Macedonian president began at the Boyana residence. The Macedonian head of state will depart from Bulgaria shortly.

Albanian President Visits, Signs Agreements

AU2704172294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Two agreements were signed during the first day of the official visit of Albanian President Sali Berisha to Bulgaria. The first was an agreement on trade and economic cooperation and the second was an agreement on the mutual protection of investments. The agreements were signed by Selim Pelurtaja, Albanian minister of economy and trade, and Bulgarian Trade Minister Valentin Karabashev.

In brief statements after the official ceremony to sign the agreements, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Albanian President Sali Berisha expressed their satisfaction with the development of relations between the two countries. They pointed out that this tendency was confirmed by the two documents, which regulate bilateral cooperation between Bulgaria and Albania.

Presidents Zhelev and Berisha had a 45-minute face-to-face talk, but refused any statements before the joint news conference scheduled to take place on 29 April.

Berisha Addresses National Assembly

AU2804103594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0709 GMT 28 Apr 94

[Speech by Albanian President Sali Berisha to the National Assembly in Sofia—live, in Albanian with simultaneous translation into Bulgarian]

[Text] Your Excellency Mr. President Zhelev, esteemed National Assembly Chairman, esteemed Deputies of the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria, ladies and gentlemen:

It gives me particular pleasure to greet the lawful representatives of the friendly Bulgarian people from this platform. Permit me to express my gratitude to you for this meeting today and to offer my thanks to President Zhelev, who invited me to make this visit, which I hope will be of service for cooperation, drawing together, and friendship between our two countries.

History and joint coexistence in our region have been associated with numerous friendly links between our two peoples. The Albanians do not forget that in times of great difficulty for them, they were able to set up colonies here in Sofia, which were powerful centers for our national rebirth. Enlighteners and eminent Albanian revivalists who lived and worked in Sofia organized associations which published books and newspapers that cleared the path for our nation to advance toward independence. Leaders of the Albanian bands fighting for freedom also found support in Bulgaria. The Bulgarians helped the Albanians to win their independence, and we experienced a feeling of true friendship.

When Albania won her independence, this was welcomed with immense joy by our people. The Albanians should have confidence in our support for ensuring that their state remains free and independent—this was stated in the greetings telegram from the Bulgarian state in connection with Albania's independence.

The new atmosphere that has been created in the countries of Eastern Europe following the overthrow of the dictators' regimes, which oriented Albania and Bulgaria toward the universal democratic values and integration into Europe, has indubitably opened up broad horizons and new prospects for developing comprehensive cooperation and friendship between us.

The visits to Albania by President Zhelev, National Assembly Chairman Yordanov, Foreign Minister Daskalov, and other Bulgarian ministers, as well as the visits to Bulgaria by Albanian Parliament Chairman Arbnori, Prime Minister Meksi, and Albanian ministers, helped us to establish closer cooperation and to sign agreements of mutual interest to both states. Among these agreements I would like especially to mention the signing by our two presidents in Tirana of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between Albania and Bulgaria. I am glad that during this visit we also signed an agreement on economic and trade cooperation and an agreement on protecting and stimulating investments that will directly help us to increase economic production-sharing between our two countries.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, many times in the course of past centuries our two peoples overcame difficulties and troubles. However, I do not want to dwell on history now, but merely to stress that during the second half of the 20th century the communist regime was an immense common drama that we both experienced, but the liberation from totalitarian domination clearly demonstrated that the Albanians and Bulgarians can be bent but never broken.

At the moment, Albania and Bulgaria are committing their utmost efforts to realizing the wishes of their peoples, expressed by their free vote, to build a society on the basis of a rule-of-law state, with due respect for the liberties and rights of man, to build a market economy, and to achieve their integration into Europe and the international community.

Permit me to pay my respects to this parliament in recognition of its exceptional work in replacing the legislation of a dictatorial society with the laws and norms of a free democratic society. [applause]

I take pleasure in being able to inform you that Albania is strongly committed to the same transformation. During the last two years, to overcome the legacy, certainly the most bitter one of all the legacies in Eastern Europe, we chose the fast track for implementing in-depth legislative, social, and economic reforms. This course is probably the most painful one; it requires the most sacrifices, but on the other hand most quickly produces visible results. The Albanian Parliament passed hundreds of laws meeting European standards, the most important of which are a Charter of Human Rights and difficult constitutional laws that correspond to the European Human Rights Convention. In two years, all our institutions have undergone profound transformations. In the economic field, we privatized the land, housing plots, road transportation, trade, and services. We have privatized over 1,000 enterprises during the last eight months alone.

In 1994 we will continue the privatization of medium-size and large enterprises. The have liberalized prices and foreign currency exchange, and the results were not slow in coming. The stores are full, the long lines have disappeared, and our currency has stabilized and, in practice, is convertible. Last year annual inflation fell to 30 percent from 400 percent prior to the elections on 22 March 1992. In 1993 Albania reported the greatest economic growth in Europe, a growth of 10 percent in the GNP.

Despite all this, Albania remains the poorest country in Europe, with an infrastructure of a Third World country,

with obsolete technologies, and a high rate of unemployment that varies between 14 and 18 percent. These factors hamper our way forward.

Ladies and gentlemen, our two friendly countries, as well as the other countries of the Eastern Europe, have liberated ourselves from communist dictatorships and chosen the road of freedom [applause], the market economy, and the rule-of-law state, a road that they do not expect to be strewn with flowers. However, as well as the immense natural difficulties of the transition, of orientation toward the market economy, we have encountered unexpected problems and even unforeseen dangers. The dismantling of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain are naturally immense achievements of mankind as a whole and of Western society in particular. Their replacement with a financial wall, barriers of a different psychological nature, and ultranationalist and racist obstacles constitute an immense threat, not only for our countries but also for our continent. The removal of the Iron Curtain was not only accompanied by the liberation of the dozens of countries and hundreds of millions of people from one of the most cruel dictatorships that mankind has experienced, but we have to admit that it was also accompanied by dangerous phenomenons: the Bosnian syndromes, the Zhirinovskiy phenomenon [applause], the Serbian aggression, and its exacerbation by various forms of nationalism, ultranationalism, racism, and so on.

Before the specter of communism had fully disappeared, other ghosts from the near and more distant past today pose a threat to peace, security, and democratic values on our continent. Taken together, all of them hamper and interrupt the process of integration that is vitally important and crucial for both the fate of democracy in our countries and the whole of Western mankind, and intensify confrontation. Therefore, today more than ever, the consolidation of bilateral and regional cooperation is of particular importance for our present and future, for our children. [applause]

Mr. Chairman, our peninsula has been plunged into in a profound and dangerous crisis. The war in Bosnia is the greatest human drama that Europe has experienced since the time of World War II. This war, if the aggressor is allowed to get away with it, is only the prelude to a regional war waged on a broader scale, the consequences of which cannot be described. [applause]

First, the war in Bosnia is the result of the decision of the communist dictatorship in Belgrade to create a Greater Serbia by aggression and in conformance with the memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences that envisages the ethnic purging of more than 40 percent of the population inhabiting this territory, on the sole ground that it is not Serbian.

Second, there is an exacerbation and encouragement of this aggression by other nationalist Balkan—and not only Balkan—countries that believe that, following the Serbian model, they can satisfy their own chauvinistic and ultranationalistic ambitions. [applause]

Third, it is more than naive to think that a Greater Serbia, if established, could establish peace, stability, and equilibrium in the Balkans. In practice, this idea is just as dangerous as the previous two, and would have graver consequences. This is so because first, it accepts the alteration of borders by force, and second, it supports the ridiculous thesis that the Serbian people should dominate in the Balkan peninsula, when it makes up no more than 7 to 8 percent of the population of the Balkans. Believing in this viewpoint is tantamount to aiding the long-term destabilization of the region, because history has clearly confirmed on numerous occasions that a Greater Serbia was always a transitory and unstable structure and lead to war, conflicts, instability, and aggression. [applause].

It is a fact that a Greater Serbia always represents a direct danger for the Bulgarians, Albanians, Macedonians, and other peoples. We believe that the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, a sovereign state and a member of the United Nations, and its dismemberment by force of arms set a question mark over the common and individual security of the countries in our peninsula. We are seriously worried about the continuous degradation of the situation in Kosovo, where 2 million Albanians live on a compact territory, making up 90 percent of its population. In the former Yugoslavia, Kosovo was an autonomous province and enjoyed almost all the rights of the former Yugoslav republics. Kosovo had its own state, economic, and cultural institutions, whereas today Belgrade denies these human and national rights, rejects dialogue with them, and is creating in Kosovo an explosive situation that may easily blow up.

Albania declares that it opposes changing borders from a position of force. It insists that if Belgrade transfers the conflict to Kosovo, it will bear the total responsibility for a regional war. The prevention of this war is an important and permanent priority for Albania, Bulgaria, and other countries interested in peace and stability. I consider that, under these conditions, bilateral cooperation—political, economic, cultural, and military—between Albania and Bulgaria, and also within the multilateral framework of the European institutions, the Partnership for Peace initiative, and the Black Sea Economic Zone initiative are of immense importance for peace and stability in our region.

By their policies, Albania and Bulgaria have provided and are making an important contribution to preserving peace and preventing conflicts. In this context, I would like to stress that Bulgaria's refusal to take part in the trilateral summit in Athens is of immense importance for reducing and restraining the expansionist ambitions of those who consider that they can implement them by forming aggressive axes and alliances. Furthermore, although it maintains that the Albanian question is the chief one in the Balkans, Albania does not want borders to be changed by force. It stands for a democratic region

in which respect is shown for the human and national freedoms and rights of the Albanians in the place where they live.

Our two countries recognized The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and regard its stability as a condition for preventing a conflict in the southern part of the Balkans. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, I am an optimist regarding the development of the spirit of understanding, cooperation, and friendship between Albania and Bulgaria. Albania attaches particular importance to its friendly relations with the Republic of Bulgaria because it is convinced that this corresponds to the political, economic, and cultural interests of our two nations, and also contributes to expanding a climate of defusing tension and cooperation in our region, the Balkans. I consider that bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans is a crucial factor for the process of the integration of our countries and peoples into Europe.

I express my wish for the traditional friendly cooperation between Albania and Bulgaria and the multilateral cooperation to develop even further. May God help Albania to develop and speedily advance along the road of progress, states the greetings telegram that I quoted at the start of my speech. I would like to conclude by offering the same good wishes to you. [applause and cheers]

May God bless our countries and peoples, and the friendship and cooperation between them! Thank you. [applause]

Minister of Education Petr Pitha Resigns

LD2704113394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Having considered the state of his health, the Czech minister of education, Petr Pitha, has told Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus today that he is resigning. Petr Pitha has been unable to work for several weeks. Asked who should replace him in his post, Pitha said he did not know.

Dukovany Plant Considered 'Safe and Reliable'

AU2604161794 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 25 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by "(dz)": "There Were More Than 300 Cases of Malfunction at Dukovany in 1993"]

[Text] Dukovany—At the Dukovany nuclear plant, in the vicinity of which environmentalists commemorated the eighth anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster, there were 315 cases of malfunction and deviations from the standard.

Three of them were described as failures due to flaws in security measures. The report that the State Office for Nuclear Safety drafted for the government states that the emergency signaling systems were activated 12 times in 1993. Despite this, the State Office for Nuclear Safety considers the operation of the Dukovany nuclear plant to be safe and reliable.

Strasky Presents Territorial Reform Proposal

AU2704080094 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 26 Mar 94 p 13

[Article by Jan Strasky, minister of transportation and deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party: "The Czech Republic: A State of Regions, Communities, and Citizens"]

[Text] The search for the role, shape, and organization of the state's participation in its administration is older than civic society itself. It ensues neither originally nor today from the citizen's interest, which is why this argument should not be overestimated or misused. It originates—and this origin can be felt to this day—from the conflict between the interest of the center (the king, the president, the assembly, the parliament, the government, or a conqueror or occupier) to enforce central power uniformly, effectively, and with the requisite dose of integrity, irrespective of how the wielders of the central power took hold of that role (whether by conquest or by means of democratic elections) and the interests of citizens with ambitions who are convinced that they have less administration (power) than they should.

Experience confirms that, on the one hand:

—Mistakes, errors, or weaknesses of the center influence the stability of the whole and have often been an important or even the decisive cause of its demise (because they always get into contact, often clash, and occasionally get into conflict with neighboring wholes).

—No reform of the whole's arrangement is permanently satisfactory because it is not and, by its very nature, cannot be perfect.

—The only thing that is constant and permanent is the incessant reform of administration and the endless search for a perfect model, even if this search always moves within bounds that are very inaccurately labeled as centralization and decentralization.

On the other hand, experience shows that, no matter how praiseworthy the intentions to transform the administration organizationally may be, they always produce a provisional arrangement and not "the final word," from which follows, on the one hand, that there is no need for any overhasty action and, on the other (or on the same?), that it is necessary to responsibly and conscientiously consider what is really unbearable and what is functional about the administration, for whose reform one is calling.

The risk in giving such advice is that you can be immediately asked, as minister and as deputy chairman of the party that at the moment has the greatest share of power in this state, in whose interest you are cautioning restraint. The only thing I can say in response—because I will not furnish a single piece of evidence to back this up—is that it is my right as a citizen of this country, one, moreover, with a lifelong career as a civil servant. I admit thereby, seemingly at variance with my introductory words, that, in a civic society, the organization of the country's administration does affect the citizen: He wants to be represented and "served" by good, accessible, intelligible, and competent bodies that are not too costly to run. The target of a civic society (which we carry in our heads and against which we gauge the attained reality) is the idea of a sovereign citizen who decides, precisely in the interest of his individual sovereignty, to tolerate, by means of indirect (representative but controllable) democracy, only as much power above himself as will allow him to be a sovereign citizen and individual in this world.

The formation of lands (regions) is laid down in our Constitution and the current dispute concerns only their size and role. The fact that any internal state arrangement is unsatisfactory—for which there are authentic as well as demagogic arguments—permanently exerts an influence. We have no shortage of ambitious people (which is so good that, as is often the case, it becomes bad at times). We all speak from positions in which we find ourselves and in the name of the chances that present themselves. What unites us is the experience and conviction that the state administration can and must be better than it is now. And because there does not exist a

single solution to this task, politics gets a hearing. Personally, I do not believe that it is in the citizen's interest to have above himself more, rather than fewer, tiers of power, that it is in the citizen's interest to have a weak state, and that, under Czech conditions, having a large region is a suitable way of bringing the state and the citizen closer to each other and the best way of bringing the country's administration closer to the citizen.

State and Communities

The territory of the Czech Republic is administered by the state and by the communities. The state is represented by the head of state, parliament, government, the heads of central bodies of state administration who are not headed by a minister, the heads of bodies of state administration who do not operate nationwide (such as the director of the Labor Office, the Agriculture Ministry's Regional Department, or the Road Administration and Maintenance Authority), and the chairmen of district offices as the "uniform" body of state administration in a given territory. Communities are administered through their elected representatives, besides which they perform, with their staff, some duties of state administration in their territory (the so-called authorized communities perform these duties on the designated territory of several communities).

There are many reasons for the citizen to administer and to be administered by only the community and the state. The "dividing line" is visible and historically stable here, although I hasten to add that even here it is not beyond dispute. It is not only changing but also oscillating [prolina se], most probably in mutual interest.

Size of the Communities

For the division of administration between the state and the community to be balanced, competent, and, hence, satisfactory to the citizen, the community should be of a certain size that will guarantee its qualification potential [kvalifikacni potencial] and, last but not least, also the necessary financial resources. This prerequisite is not met in our conditions. This inevitably complicates and restricts a uniform and broad delineation of communities' powers (the sole authentic bringing closer of the administration to the citizen). It is extremely difficult uniformly to devolve the widest possible powers to communities with a population of more than 100,000 (of which we have seven in the Czech Republic) and, simultaneously, to communities with a population of under 200 (of which we have 1,621 in the Czech Republic, which is 26 percent of all communities). Of the 6,196 communities in the Czech Republic, 4,946—that is, a full 80 percent—have fewer than 1,000 inhabitants (do not let these communities be angry with me, but, personally, I would regard this number as the absolute minimum). Without discounting the "Moravian issue" and the traditionalists' argument of a return to the land arrangement [zemske usporadani], I personally believe that the project of regions—that is, the idea of inserting a regional tier between the state and the community—is to a large degree a result of the large number of small communities in the Czech Republic. The large number of small communities makes administration solely from the level of the state and the community more controversial and the need for a regional tier more urgent and justifiable. At the same time, it is evident that changing this situation cannot be an ephemeral administrative ambition but a matter of long-term development.

Why Region

There are at least two reasons for the citizen to administer and to be administered by not only the tier state and the tier community, but also the tier region. The outcome of the discussion on regional arrangements depends on which viewpoint we prefer and which is stronger and more urgent.

The first argument is based on the assertion that the state (the government, the parliament) is too remote from the citizens, who live in diverse (mutually unrelated) conditions, for it to be able to fulfill so many of its powers "from Prague." It is being said, in support of this argument, that even today the state is addressing this problem by establishing outlying regional workplaces of individual central bodies of state administration, whose task is to perceive and respect local conditions and local differences more distinctly than the center can. A subject of polemics is whether there should be more such "feelers" at the "regional" level (that is, whether there should be about 10 of them) or at the "district" level (that is, whether there should be several dozen of them). My reply in this respect is unequivocal: Because the main burden of state administration is carried by the district office and the other special (not uniform) local bodies of state administration (regardless of whether their number exceeds, or falls short of, the number of districts) are only a divergently justified supplement, the district represents even today the prevailing local dimension of state administration. Therefore, we should base our considerations on the assessment of the functionality of this tier (and its size).

The second argument is that the community is too remote from the state. The idea of a citizen deciding by his (electoral, civic) vote who will administer Zadni Lhotka with its 60 residents and the Czech Republic with 10 million inhabitants (and nothing in between) is a strong motive for the establishment of regions. The citizen's interest undeniably reaches beyond the borders of (particularly small) communities. If a citizen is to entrust the administration of everything "beyond the community" to the state, he is raising the, in my opinion justified, question of whether the "power above him" is not too far away and too insensitive to his civic situation, to which belong "everyday issues" such as transportation to the nearest city, the retail network, health-care establishments, higher-level schools, and so forth. The community (in its Czech shape) is mostly too small to ensure his needs and demands, while the state is too big and too remote to ensure them with a feeling for local conditions.

The attentive reader will surely have noticed that, actually, we are not dealing with two problems but with two views of the same problem, according to the example of the "half-full" or "half-empty" glass: A view "from the center," which is "only" being decentralized and parceled out with the establishment of regions and the view of the citizen (community), who (which) feels the need to influence matters "beyond the community" more directly than through the medium of the government or parliament. A solution to this "clash" has lain thus far, above all, in the district office (a small government with limited powers, whose application is restricted to a certain territory) and the district council (an assembly of representatives of communities of a given territory), which is, in my opinion, the most controversial element in the present system of administration of the Czech Republic, an element that is the furthest from the ideal of functional perfection.

What Is a Region?

It is time to try to express wherein the planned regional arrangement differs (of course, according to the ambitions of individual proponents) from today's district-based administration of the country. This is difficult because, according to the final shape chosen, it can differ from it either in quantitative terms only (that is, the decisionmaking horizon of the region in the sphere of administration would be expanded) or in qualitative terms as well (that is, decisionmaking would differ from region to region). We might call the first option, rather imprecisely, decentralization (decisionmaking according to, and within the framework of, uniform rules, while paying heed to local conditions), while the other comes close to the term parceling (decisionmaking according to different rules). The prevalent idea is that the regional body (unlike today's district office) would not decide at the state's behest (that is, according to uniform, centrally controlled and sanctioned rules), doing so only with greater sensitivity [than the district office] (that is, with greater ability to differentiate between specific situations), but that, within the framework of jurisdiction that will be vested in regions by law, it will decide with irrevocable and specific powers. This idea arises from the thesis that the region will also have its own property—that is, that, apart from state, community, and private ownership, there will also be regional ownership.

This can best be illustrated by an example coming, as in most cases, from transportation. Should the law on regions transfer into regional ownership—for example, today's state third-class roads and local railroad tracks—regional bodies will decide which of these roads and railroads will be abolished, which will be built anew, which will be repaired today and which later. I have deliberately chosen a (seemingly) politically neutral example, one that is realistic and even probable (incidentally, in the sphere of road repairs we almost find ourselves in this situation already). Nevertheless, from the national point of view (from the point of view of the citizen of the Czech Republic), even this example is not free of risks. The decision to abolish (or even only temporarily close) roads because the region does not have the money to repair them right now will, to a greater or lesser extent, also influence the transportation possibilities of the inhabitants of other regions. Let me point out that I do not cite this example as an argument against regions but exclusively for the sake of illustration.

A region—let us attempt a nontraditional definition—is a partial territory of the state, with its own administration in designated areas, above which are the laws of the Czech Republic (of course, these laws must not be in conflict with the regions' powers; on the other hand, the regions' legislative initiative is foreseen—that is, the possibility for them to submit draft laws to parliament). In conformity with the regions' powers must be, self-evidently, also their responsibility and financial provisions. Let me cite an example regarding responsibility: If responsibility for transportation services on their territory is vested in regions (that is, responsibility for citizens being able to use public transport to get to work, school, the doctor, and so forth), something the new law transfers to district offices (in their capacity as state bodies, however, and not as bodies of regional administration), no one should any longer address any complaint to the president or the minister of transportation that some bus route has been abolished because, in a consistent regional arrangement, neither of them can do anything for the citizen in this matter. The complaint will have to be addressed to the appropriate regional "minister of transportation" and regional deputy.

However, for the region to be able to bear final powers and responsibility (independent of the state and the community), it must avail itself of a firm and stable flow of financial resources. There is, however, one snag in this, the preservation or elimination of which must be thought through very consistently: If a uniform nationwide system of taxation, coupled with the necessary flow of resources into the budgets of communities, regions, and the state, is to be preserved, this can only be accomplished by means of "apportionment" (percentage share) of taxes according to fixed rules and a uniform nationwide tax policy. Otherwise (for example, in the event of regionally divergent taxes being levied in the interest of ensuring the region's autonomy), the "solidarity principle" (responsibility of the rich for the poor) would be abandoned within the framework of the state and replaced by citizens of the region [sentence as published]. A citizen of the Ostrava or Most area (should they become regions) would have to pay more in taxes than a citizen of the Pardubice region, for example, so that his "regional government and parliament" can live up to their responsibility for the region, even if those "needs of the region" came about as a consequence of activities (such as coal mining) benefiting the state as a whole. Those who consider the claim exaggerated that the regionalization of the Czech Republic beyond a certain very fragile limit amounts to the parceling of the Czech Republic with all its consequences are not playing fair with the citizens of the Czech Republic.

To claim that the regionalization of the state is not possible and that there exist no reasons in its favor would be equally insincere. Quite the contrary, there do not exist any absolute reasons for, or obstacles to, any solution whatsoever; what exists, however, are absolute consequences arising from every solution. After decades of centralist obfuscation, the idea of "introducing transparency" is only understandable, justified, and popular. Its immediate and definitive realization is naive, however, and, what is more, dangerous. We can let ourselves be inspired today by the regionalization of Austria, U.S. federalism, or the territorial division of Great Britain. In all of these cases, we encounter long strings of historical events that led to the situation that exists today. These examples confirm that everything is possible when it is necessary for historical reasons. They do not confirm, however, that all "models" are equally beneficial. The exact opposite is the case. These models are the consequences of historical development, which have retained up to the present a certain strength that needs to be respected.

From this viewpoint, only "Moravia" has any certain legitimacy in our conditions. Because of the subtlety of this issue, however, I do not want to assess it in this place. I can only say that Rajhrad [in Moravia] is as dear to me as Svata Hora [in Bohemia] and Wallachia [Moravian region] as dear as Sumava [Bohemian region]. The legitimacy of the Hradec Kralove-Pardubice, Zatce-Louny, or (to stick to my Sumava) Prachatice-Vimperk rivalries is not, historical reminiscences notwithstanding, of such a nature as to warrant the formation of regions. The legitimacy of the South Bohemian or the West Bohemian Land is nonexistent, in my opinion, and almost grotesque. While Carinthia or Bavaria are historical phenomena that, for reasons that I am unable to assess, are reflected in the regional arrangement of Austria or Germany, the lands of the Czech crown are a phenomenon that will not be negligible even in the third millennium. When contemplating the possible uniformity of a united Europe, we do not express our apprehensions as West Bohemians or as Central Europeans—and, as far as I am concerned, I am not expressing these apprehensions as a West Bohemian by birth, a Praguer by residence, or a South Bohemian by sentiment—but as citizens of the lands of the Czech crown. with our legacy, historical burdens, and inspirations, with which we want to enrich Europe while preserving ourselves as a single and differentiated whole, as a Europe of Greeks, French, Scots, and Norwegians, but not, for God's sake, a Europe of East Bohemians and South Moravians.

What To Do With the Regions Today

We live in the year 1994. We are winding up the transformation of our economy and want it to hold its own in contemporary Europe. Our citizens are exposed to changes that, in some social groups, are at the edge of tolerability. We want to turn slaves of communism into proud and honest entrepreneurs, duped workers into self-confident authorities in their respective fields, kolkhoz farmers with no responsibility into efficient providers of food for the nation, and servile (and unpopular) bureaucrats into kind administrators of this country.

I am convinced that, in the effort to tackle the issue of the country's regional arrangement too rashly and radically, we are taking upon ourselves a disproportionately heavy burden. Insufficient preparation, ambition-filled impatience, and short-term political calculations are driving us into conventional solutions following up on the "traditions of regional national committees." Because we will probably not find the courage (apparently by right) to abolish districts, a costly three-tier system will come into being. This system had been challenged (in my opinion rightly) even under totalitarianism (under conditions of the much larger Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, where three tiers were more appropriate than in today's Czech Republic). Even without regions, owing to the influence of the new roles of the state in a democracy and in the period of transformation, the state administration employs more people now than it did before November [1989].

In spite of this, I am convinced that both conditions and reasons exist to take the first step toward regionalization, a step that, on the one hand, would lead to decentralization (the bringing of the state administration closer to citizens) and, on the other, to the "de-etatization" of some decisions, with the aim of greater respect for local conditions and differences, without at the same time exceeding the tolerable extent of risks, to which I have attempted to draw attention, and without causing an excessive growth of costs.

The solution lies in today's district arrangement. Next year should be used to amend this system. At some places it appears to be appropriate to merge districts and in other places to partition them. The extent of corrective action should not cause a "great shock."

1. In the first step, the territory of the district will become a region.

2. A law will define the regions' powers, which should be broader than those of today's districts.

3. The subsequent year will be devoted to the practical and organizational preparation, to adjustments to the system of taxation, the budget system, and so forth.

4. The elections of 1996 will establish regional self-administrative bodies with, let us say, seven to 20 regional deputies.

The adoption of this proposal is based on two prerequisites:

a) The large number of regions, which is evidently in contrast with the idea laid down in the Constitution.

b) The perception of the region as an entity centering on the regionally warranted allocation of mostly centrally acquired (that is, acquired according to uniform rules) financial resources.

I regard the first point as a serious problem—the large number of regions will not do away with the problems of management. A solution would lie in a reduction of the number of regions to approximately a third. This, however, cannot be a realistic task for a year or two, if we do not want to put off regionalization completely. It can, however, lead to another step, which, in my opinion, will depend on whether it will be accompanied by the concentration of communities. Such a concentration would simultaneously make it possible to expand community administration. Objections to the second point can be expected only from those who suffer from the illusion that the region can be not only an independent administrative entity but also an independent economic entity, which spends on its territory resources that it itself has generated. Small regions expose the naivete of such an expectation more than big ones. There is no room here for a more comprehensive argumentation against this idea. The disruption of the "solidarity principle," on which the state is based (as is, in the "downward" direction the community, and in the "upward" direction Europe), is not only selfish from the human point of view but also dangerous from the point of view of the state's integrity. It follows from the perception of the first regionalization step that the region would allocate resources rather than own and dispose of regional property.

In Conclusion

The train of regional euphoria has been set in motion, and it is difficult to jump onto it while it is moving. It already has its political dimensions, with risks of labeling, and is driven by a certain distribution of political forces. It could really happen that we will be parceled out and will engage in disputes about connecting the East Bohemian and North Moravian highways, in the same way as we are currently engaging in a dispute about a bypass around Plzen. I would only like to protest emphatically against the view that the formation of large regions will bring the administration of the country much closer to the citizen. Plzen bureaucrats and West Bohemian deputies are as far away for the inhabitants of Kvilda or Bozi Dar as are Prague bureaucrats and Czech parliamentary deputies. I concede, however, that the perspective from Plzen, Pardubice, or Olomouc may be different. By pointing out that the reform of the territorial and administrative arrangement is not a "task to be resolved before the next elections," but an eternal task, I wanted to call for circumspection and for the phasing [fazovani] of all amassed ambitions.

Baudys on Joint Military Exercises With France

AU2704133494 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 25 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by "zd": "The French Will Exercise in the Czech Republic"]

[Text] Prague/Paris—At the beginning of June, military exercises will be conducted with a French company in the Czech Republic and at the same time a Czech company in France. It is also expected that French experts will be commissioned to Czech military schools. That is one of the results of the three-day visit by Defense Minister Antonin Baudys to France. The delegation also met with the representatives of a leading electronic concern, Thomson-CSF, that was seriously interested in Pardubice Tesla once. Minister Baudys admitted the possibility of cooperation with this firm in the development of the electronic equipment for the Czech light multipurpose L-159 aircraft currently in the works, the modernization of air defense, and the T-72 tank. After the talks, Baudys confirmed that the Czech Republic enjoys great credibility in the industrial world. This fact, according to him, makes it possible for the Republic in the modernization of the Army not to purchase only finished products but rather opt for supplies of state-of-the-art technology and utilize the capacity and possibilities of the Czech firms.

Baudys Interviewed on Current State of Army

94CH0210C Prague A REPORT in Czech 21 Jan 94 p 3

[Article by "sta" on introductory remarks by and interview with Defense Minister Antonin Baudys at a news conference on 6 January; place not given: "Clear Reports Regarding the Future"]

[Text] *Information from the news conference that took place on 6 January 1994 was published in the last issue. Today, we are returning to additional important items mentioned in the second part of the introductory remarks made by the minister of defense of the Czech Republic, Antonin Baudys.*

Without a doubt, everyone is interested in what is actually facing the Ministry of Defense this year. Certainly, it will be a time of further progress regarding deep changes of its entire organism. Toward that end, the minister of defense said the following at the news conference:

In the Army of the Czech Republic

The decisive phase of transforming the Army of the Czech Republic [ACR] will be realized with the reorganization of the Western Military Command and the Central Military Command into army corps commands, the transfer of the 4th Division into a brigade-type structure, and the creation of two tactical- and transport-aviation bases.

The establishment of a rapid-deployment brigade will be finalized, as will the establishment of additional (a total of 11) territorial defense brigades.

There will be a fundamental melding of the newly organized staffs and military units, their personnel stabilization, and improvements in training.

The military railroad components will be eliminated.

Legislative, organizational, and social conditions will be created to facilitate the essential increase in the number of professionals, particularly among the group of so-called career soldiers.

A military strategy for the defense of the Czech Republic will be worked out and a concept for the development of the ACR through the year 2000 will be prepared.

In the Realm of Personnel Work and Education

Principal attention will be concentrated on personnel support for the transformation of the ACR, accompanied by the assertion of principles of the concept of personnel and social policy of the Ministry of Defense.

The personnel policy and social support for military personnel will be legislatively assured.

There will be a transformation of the military education system and a gradual realization of the concept of scientific work within the ACR.

Attention will be focused also on assuring quality training for the Army sports representatives at the XVII Winter Olympic Games (ZOH).

In Terms of Financing and Logistics and Ministry of Defense Economics

The following principal tasks evolve from the concept of transforming the ACR and the method involved in the introduction of the PPBS [Planning, Programming, and Budgeting System]:

- Preparation of the budget for 1995 in its program composition.
- Definition of decisive acquisition projects.
- Transition to double-entry bookkeeping, with a deadline for realization of 31 December 1994.
- Creation of military financial offices and logistics structures, including appropriate information systems.
- Consistent adherence to koruna controls during the transition period.
- Working out a uniform materials catalogue, working out standards and financial standards.
- Disestablishment of military construction battalions.
- Privatization of state enterprises.
- Transformation of military spa and recreational facilities.
- Transformation of the military-scientific base.

In Matters of Civil Defense

The reorganization of control organs of civil defense, of civil defense formations, will be finalized, as will the integration and material support of executive elements of civil defense into regional and local rescue systems; a civil defense logistics base will be created.

Principles of a civil defense law will be worked out for discussion within the government, and appropriate standard operating procedures for directing civil defense will be worked out as well.

Cooperation with neighboring countries in resolving civil defense problems and the elimination of the consequences of disasters and catastrophes that transcend national borders will be assured.

The establishment of an information system for civil defense as a component of the national information system will be finalized.

In the Area of Foreign Relations

The principal tasks in 1994 will be concentrated on the following activities in solving tasks in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

- Actively participate in the NATO Partnership Program for Peace and still further deepen the bilateral contacts between the ACR and NATO member countries and neighboring countries; set priorities for ACR collaboration with specific armies.
- Prepare a proposal for the concept of ACR participation in peaceful operations sponsored by the United Nations and the CSCE, to be submitted for discussion to the government and the parliament of the Czech Republic.
- Prepare directives, regulations, and international ministerial agreements for the realization of military exercises at the international level, for the establishment and training of units preordained to participate in peaceful operations (this stems from the agreement on the Partnership for Peace and from the establishment of so-called standby forces of the United Nations).
- Prepare courses for military inspectors of verification centers at Komorni Hradek and an international NACC [North Atlantic Cooperation Council] for members of peacekeeping forces at Cesky Krumlov.
- Prepare to mount a UN peacekeeping battalion for Yugoslavia and carry out its rotation in April and November.
- Support the training of military observers, their rotation in existing missions, and their dispatch according to the requirements of the government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs).
- Fulfill tasks stemming from the realization of the KOS [expansion unknown] agreements in Europe and the treaty on open skies.
- Improve the quality of language training and specialized training for members of the ACR.
- Work out annual exchange and statistical information according to the KOS agreements, the VD-92, and the treaty on open skies and the newly adopted recommendations stemming from the meeting of foreign ministers of countries that are signatories to the CSCE in Rome.
- Continue active participation in negotiations of the CSCE, the KOS agreements, negotiations regarding

open skies, and in other international security forums.

In the Area of Command and Control

Stabilize the new system of control at the level of the Ministry of Defense and the ACR, clearly outlining jurisdictions and personal responsibilities and creation of the necessary room for initiative solution of tasks at all levels of command.

Deepen the effectiveness of control, focused from the level of the Ministry of Defense, on the course of the transformation of the ACR; adherence to basic human rights and freedoms with respect to soldiers and focused on economic control.

In the legislative area, focus on working out proposals for laws that were begun in 1993, bringing them to the level of principles, and focus on reevaluating internal ministerial standard operating procedures in harmony with the changes that have occurred within the ministry.

In military counterintelligence, orient activities toward specifically improving intelligence protection for the ministry as well as the Army, concentrate on improving the results of work and on personnel and technical support for this service.

* * *

At the press conference, the minister of defense also responded to questions by journalists. We present two of them below:

[Journalist] In recent times, I have noted that not only journalists, but also professional soldiers are expressing high criticism with regard to the situation in the Army....

[Baudys] I believe that it is not abnormal for me to be criticized by professional soldiers. This tends to indicate that something is beginning to be in order within the Army. The Army is not such an organization in which a subordinate officer could not criticize a superior. You obviously have in mind the more extensive article written by Colonel Stetka in CESKY DENIK; if I disregard NECENZUROVANE NOVINY, I know of no other public criticism. A number of the remarks made by Col. Stetka are relevant, but, as far as criticism of General Nekvasil is concerned, I am afraid it is not based on objective facts. I do not reject criticism by soldiers, no matter what rank they may be—I would be opposed to myself. My effort is to have the Army be functional, and that is why I must listen to all voices.

[Journalist] A year ago you stated that those officers who agreed with the occupation by the Soviet military on our territory had committed treason. Do you still hold that opinion today? If so, how did that view manifest itself in the directives governing the extraordinary evaluations, as well as in their practical implementation?

[Baudys] I have not changed my view. However, the facts are such that not all dossiers contain supplemental biographic data that contain this fact. Taken through to its consequences, I would most likely, or rather certainly, have to say that, as of 5 January 1993, we are dissolving the Army and are beginning to create it completely anew. Those who did not agree with the occupation represent a negligible quantity. Your question, which is put in a highly categorical manner with a great deal of moral conviction, could thus have only a single consistent answer—the dissolution of the Army. But it is a question of discussion as to whether we would be capable of creating a new functional army within such a historically short period. If someone signed to indicate he agreed with the occupation, this does not mean that he is not prepared to defend his country despite the fact that, from a moral standpoint, I continue to believe that this was treason. I did not decide to dissolve the Army; after all, it is not even within my jurisdiction to do so—and, consequently, it was not even reflected in the appropriate order.

1993 Closing Balance Statement Accepted

AU2504171994 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by "dz": "The Government Approved 1993 Budget Closing Statement"]

[Text] Prague—In its session yesterday, the government approved the draft 1993 government budget closing statement. The statement shows a surplus of 1.1 billion korunas. According to Deputy Prime Minister Josef Lux, 200 million of this surplus is to be used for the region program, 87 million for additional payments on the Bilina mine credit, 339 million for the internal revenue computer system, and 454 million to increase reserves for dealing with social problems. The government described last year as successful. "It was the first time that a growth of labor productivity could be registered—by 3.1 percent—and the foreign currency reserves reached their maximum in the history of our state—$6 billion," Lux emphasized. The government acknowledged the Czech National Bank report on the balance of payments and monetary development for 1993. "The debt of the Czech Republic increased by $1.8 billion to $8.7 billion, 76 percent of which are long-term obligations. Overall, we are creditors, but a great part of our claims is difficult to collect," Lux commented.

Statistical Office Reports March Price Increases

AU2504181594 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Apr 94 p 7

[Czech Statistical Office report: "Prices in the Production Sphere Stagnated in March"]

[Text] Price indexes of all groups of goods virtually stagnated in the production sphere in March. Prices for industrial products increased slightly—0.2 percent (against February)—and prices for construction work

increased 0.1 percent. Other indexes in the production sphere remained on the level of the preceding month.

The price growth since the beginning of the year (March against December 1993) was moderate—2 percent. Prices charged by industrial producers and for construction work and materials and products consumed in the building industry increased 3.2 percent. Prices for domestic cargo transportation (without automobile transportation) rose 8.3 percent, and prices for water (drinkable water and sewage water) rose between 14 and 15 percent due to price changes in January and February of this year. Since the beginning of this year, prices for communications services and pipeline transportation stagnated.

Compared with the same period last year, the smallest price increase in March was in prices for agricultural products and products consumed in the building industry—between 5 and 7 percent. Prices for construction work increased 15.8 percent. Prices for communication services increased significantly—by 28 percent—and prices for domestic cargo transportation (without automobile transportation) and for water increased 40 percent (due to price changes in the preceding periods—since April 1993.)

The average yearly increase in prices (the average over 12 most recent months against the average of the preceding 12 months) was 7.9 percent in case of agricultural products (plant produce 13.3 percent and animal products 4.2 percent). Industrial manufacturers charged 11 percent more, and prices for construction works increased 23.2 percent. In communications services and domestic cargo transportation prices increased (impact of one-off changes) between 26 and 28 percent. Prices for water and pipeline transportation increased by approximately 70 percent.

Arms Factory Official Outlines Business

AU2604162494 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 94 pp 1, 17

[Interview with Jiri Hanak, president of the Sellier and Bellot management board, by Zdenek Hoffmann; place and date not given: "We Are at the Center of Intelligence Games"]

[Text] [Hoffmann] Apart from drugs and pornography, the trade in arms and ammunition is at the center of interest to organized crime and illicit dealers. Has it ever happened to you that you received a suspicious order?

[Hanak] This is not something that happens every day, but it does happen. When trading in this kind of product, the principles fixed by the law and international treaties must be respected. We respect them. We are not interested in damaging the reputation of our firm and the Czech Republic. We cooperate with state bodies and the licensing department of the Ministry of Industry and Trade. This ministry verifies the authenticity of the documents and the customer. This is how we try to prevent a possible misuse of our products.

[Hoffmann] So, you have not encountered problems like those in the French film "Three Men to Kill"?

[Hanak] We have had instances where firms and also individuals wanted to purchase ammunition for strange purposes. Such cases are reaching an increasingly professional level of deception. They are transparent attempts at making a deal. They also include lobbying and attempts to influence the management of the company. We even have information that we are at the center of professional intelligence games. We also have reports that pressure is exerted on members of the management of the company, but they have to resist it because they want to stick strictly to the law.

[Hoffmann] Most dirty deals in the world are about military weapons and ammunition. How much of your production enters them?

[Hanak] We export ammunition to about 60 countries. Some 98 percent of the ammunition that we manufacture is designated for hunting and target shooting; the rest is military. However, it is difficult to tell how many of the bullets—for example, pistol bullets—are really used for target shooting and how many for training security firms or for other purposes. The bullets are usually the same.

[Hoffmann] Recently, there was a report in the press that, at the IWA, the international exposition in Germany, you concluded a deal for ammunition sales amounting to half a billion korunas. Is such a deal usual in your business?

[Hanak] No, it is not. We held business talks at the fair, during which previously placed orders were discussed. We had anticipated these deliveries. Nevertheless, I believe this is a great business success.

[Hoffmann] You are engaged in a lucrative business with ammunition. Is your conscience clear when you read in papers about murders or about cases where someone has lost his life?

[Hanak] If the Czech firms stop delivering weapons and ammunition, others will deliver them. Foreign competition would like to enter the Czech market and take over our positions abroad. I cannot imagine that hunters would go back to using bows and arrows or that police could do without firearms when chasing criminals.

[Hoffmann] In the West, they use rubber bullets that do not kill. Can you, too, produce them?

[Hanak] We have developed cartridges with rubber bullets and lead shot. We can supply them to the Czech police, if they show an interest. Apart from that, we manufacture cartridges with steel shot, which are used not to kill but to get quickly into a building through a closed door.

[Hoffmann] For three years, you have not delivered anything to our Army. The Army was responsible for almost half of your production. Your economic results show that you have managed this.

[Hanak] The establishment of the shareholders' company in May 1992 was followed by the arrival of new management. This management adjusted very quickly to the market conditions, and, within several months, Sellier and Bellot went from a loss to a profit. Our first goal was to secure the economic stability of the company and to keep the employees on. We have succeeded in both.

[Hoffmann] The stock quoted on the stock market is a sure reflection of the company's prosperity. Sellier and Bellot shares are priced at 2,000 korunas. Does this correspond to the economic situation in the company?

[Hanak] We are very happy with the stock market's objective appreciation of our work. I believe that the price could be even higher.

[Hoffmann] Where have you found the competent people?

[Hanak] We found them among our own people and in other enterprises. For our foreign trade activity, we have used the experience of former employees in foreign trade organizations. It paid off to stick to the principle that we should select our people in a way beneficial to our society and to the reputation of the Czech industry. We rejected certain tendentious criteria, which did not have anything in common with real qualifications. The economic results of the company testify that we made a good selection. Apart from that, several domestic and foreign organizations have shown interest in our experience. Representatives of investment funds come here asking us for advice on how to organize foreign trade, the management of the company, and the company's internal bank. I have received two invitations to lecture abroad. They are interested in our experience with the transition from a centrally planned economy to a market economy. The first invitation is from a consortium of banks in Great Britain; the second is from Sweden.

[Hoffmann] Do you believe that your experience can be generalized? Enterprises are complaining that it is impossible to do business in the Czech Republic.

[Hanak] This is the excuse of incompetent management. The conditions for running a business in the Czech Republic are not ideal, but, to good management, they allow the securing of the prosperity of the enterprise.

[Hoffmann] You have begun to produce projectiles with the same caliber as NATO's. Are you counting on selling them to the Czech Army and increasing your arms production?

[Hanak] We are following the trend whereby our Army's weapons will be replaced and the Army will join NATO in the future. This is our small contribution to supporting our government, which made this decision. Moreover, we will prove that Czech industry is capable of manufacturing the same products as Western industry.

[Hoffmann] You have launched a new line of production, but the decision on the replacement of the weapons of our Army will be made in the summer, and it will take years before individual steps are implemented. Does that mean that the production of the ammunition with NATO calibers will be suspended until then?

[Hanak] We are negotiating several orders for abroad.

[Hoffmann] Are you not afraid that, when the decision on replacing the weapons of our Army is made, your company will be forgotten and ammunition will be imported from abroad?

[Hanak] Such considerations are premature. Even if there is no direct decision that we are to supply the Czech Army with projectiles, we are going to win the competition because our offer is more advantageous than that of our foreign competitors.

[Hoffmann] In other countries, do they prefer domestic firms to foreign ones when supplying their armies?

[Hanak] In some countries, they buy weapons and ammunition exclusively from domestic companies. There are countries in which there are tenders for part of the deliveries. In 95 percent of cases, they are won by domestic companies.

[Hoffmann] You would certainly welcome it if Czech companies participated in the replacement of the weapons of our Army in the future. Are you as great a patriot as you are a hunter?

[Hanak] I use Sellier and Bellot bullets, a shotgun from the Brno Arms Factory, and a hunting gun and rifle from the Cesky Brod Arms Factory.

Detailed Statistics on March Unemployment

AU2604121694 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Apr 94 p 7

[Text] On 31 March 1994, the number of job seekers totalled 184,466, which represents a decline of 12,100—i.e., 6.16 percent—from the end of February.

The same number of jobs seekers were newly registered during the month of March as in February, i.e., 29,600 persons. A total of 41,700 people were removed from the register (i.e, 9,700 more than in February], 31,500 of whom (75.7 percent) found application on the labor market. For reasons of noncooperation with the labor offices, 3,800 persons were deregistered, and 6,300 persons were removed from the register because of maternity leave, retirement, etc.

The number of districts in which an unemployment increase was registered substantially declined in March in comparison with February. With the exception of four districts—Teplice (increase of 3.31 percent), Most (2.62

percent), Prague-East (0.25 percent), and Kladno (0.15 percent)—all districts of the Czech Republic registered a decline in unemployment of between 6 and 18 percent. The relatively largest drop was recorded in the districts of Prachatice (18.0 percent), Tabor and Uherske Hradiste (12.9 percent), and Ceske Budejovice (12.8 percent). In 11 more districts, the drop was larger than 10 percent.

Women had a larger share of the total unemployment (55 percent) than men, and also the rate of unemployment of women was higher (4 percent) than of men (3 percent). At the end of March, there were 101,524 women registered at the labor offices, which is 5,000 more than in February.

Unemployment benefits were paid to 91,500 job seekers in March, which is 49.6 percent of all people registered.

The rate of registered unemployment, calculated on the basis of labor available on 31 December 1991, also marked a decline and decreased from 3.73 percent in the previous month to 3.5 percent. At the same time, the interdistrict differentiation continues. The highest rate of unemployment is maintained in the districts of Bruntal (8.74 percent), Novy Jicin (8.56 percent), Znojmo (8.09 percent), and Louny (8.04 percent). A rate of unemployment higher than 5 percent was registered in another 16 districts of the Czech Republic, which is four districts fewer than in January and February of this year. On the other hand, a rate of unemployment lower than 1 percent was registered only in the Cheb district (0.85 percent) and the capital of Prague (0.30 percent).

The number of vacancies reported by employers and registered at the labor offices rose by 5,600 from the end of February. There were 66,300 vacancies at the end of March. Of the total, 22.3 percent (14,800) was registered in Prague. Among the vacancies, the blue-collar jobs continue to dominate (66 percent). On 31 March, there were an average of 2.8 job seekers per vacant position.

Similarly to the rate of unemployment, there are also significant interdistrict differences here. While the demand for labor force exceeds supply—there are almost seven vacancies per applicant—in Prague, in the districts of Bruntal, Novy Jicin, Karvina, and Frydek-Mistek, there are on the average approximately 11 to 17 job seekers per single vacancy.

Democratic Union of Slovakia Formed in Merger

LD2304194794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 23 Apr 94

[Text] The Alliance of Democrats of the Slovak Republic and the Alternative of Political Realism have merged into a new political body called the Democratic Union of Slovakia [Demokraticka Unia Slovenska—DEUS] at a meeting this morning in the Charlie Center in Bratislava. Anna Samelova and Ivan Samel are on the line to report more in detail about the assembly:

[Samel] [passage omitted] This morning the delegates acquainted themselves with reports about the assemblies of the Alliance and the Alternative, and with statements expressing their willingness to merge. They discussed and approved the statutes of the new party. Following a lengthy discussion in the afternoon, they also approved the DEUS's program.

[Samelova] This afternoon, the assembly delegates elected senior DEUS officials. The result of the vote is as follows: Jozef Moravcik is the chairman, Milan Knazko is the first deputy chairman, Viliam Vaskovic is the deputy chairman for economy, and Roman Kovac is the deputy chairman for social affairs and culture. [passage omitted]

Daily Reports on New Party

AU2804105394 Bratislava SME in Slovak 25 Apr 94 pp 1-2

[Article by "(bog, mh)": "Jozef Moravcik Has Been Elected Chairman of the Democratic Union of Slovakia"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—Delegates to the amalgamation assembly of the Alliance of Democrats of Slovakia [AD SR] and the Alternative for Political Realism (APR) elected Jozef Moravcik chairman of the Democratic Union of Slovakia (DEUS) on Saturday [23 April]. Milan Knazko was elected first deputy chairman, and Roman Kovac and Viliam Vaskovic were elected deputy chairmen.

Rudolf Filkus was also a candidate for the post of deputy chairman, but he did not gain the required number of votes. The proposal submitted by E. Bartosova that the number of deputy chairmen be increased to four to include J. Budaj was not passed. The delegates elected a 50-member DEUS Republican Council. R. Filkus and J. Budaj are members of it. Following Saturday's assembly, DEUS has 18 deputies in parliament.

In the morning, each entity held a separate meeting, at which its delegates voted for the merger. We have learned that, shortly after the AD SR meeting, one of its delegates, Jozef Olejar, walked out. In response to a question from SME on the reason for his departure, M. Knazko said at a news conference that he was "not informed about it." According to him, Mr. Olejar probably "drew the conclusions for himself" from the vote on the merger. The joint meeting of the two entities was then held.

At the beginning, 133 of the 140 delegates (70 each from the AD SR and APR) agreed with the merger, six abstained, and one was against.

According to its adopted program, DEUS would like to represent a broad spectrum of liberal political views and values that express the idea of citizen-community-state. The program considers the most important objectives in the economic sphere to be ongoing support for the economy's restructuring and modernizing and speeding up privatization and making it more transparent so that the majority of state property becomes privately owned as soon as possible. DEUS wants to support the citizens' individual responsibility for their own social situation, and the priority in the foreign policy sphere is the Slovak Republic's orientation toward European integration.

J. Findra, head of the Office of the President, read out to the assembly a letter of greetings from the president of the Republic. In it, the president emphasized, among other things, that politicians should set an example of correctness, tolerance, and polished manners. "Let us show that crudeness and demagoguery have no place in our politics. Let us show that decency and understanding are the characteristic traits of the citizens of our country and not big gestures and intolerance." DEUS Chairman J. Moravcik said after his election that the one failing of the Slovak political scene is its atomization.

After the assembly, Deputy Chairman M. Knazko said the following in connection with speculation that a second Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has been formed by the merger: "Do not speak of the devil; one is enough." He emphasized that "this merger was not short-term and purpose-oriented but was proceeded by a natural process from the Public Against Violence Movement via the HZDS." In response to a question from SME on whether representatives from all of the political parties were invited to the assembly and why a representative from the Christian Social Union [KSU], which is holding talks with the HZDS about a preelection coalition, was invited, Knazko said: "We invited the chairmen of both the HZDS and the Slovak National Party, but, to everyone's disappointment, they did not attend the assembly. The KSU, yes; we invited all of the parties that are mentioned in public opinion polls and may become our partners." [passage omitted]

Chairman Moravcik Interviewed

AU2804091894 Bratislava SME in Slovak 25 Apr 94 p 1

[Interview with Jozef Moravcik, chairman of the Democratic Union of Slovakia, by Maria Hluchanova and Jana Pankovcinova; place and date not given: "The Fulfillment of Tasks Is More Important Than a Dynamic Appearance"]

[Text] We asked to interview Jozef Moravcik, who was elected chairman of the Democratic Union of Slovakia (DEUS) on 23 April.

[SME] Do you consider your being elected chairman as just a formality, inasmuch as the first deputy chairman is to lead the party?

[Moravcik] No, I believe it a very prudent technical solution to the problem we encountered.

[SME] Why did the Saturday merger assembly decide on this step?

[Moravcik] We felt that such a solution could be acceptable to the coalition partners, and it guarantees efficient control of the party.

[SME] By this measure, you have probably denied the philosophy, according to which political leaders were not to be in the Cabinet, on the basis of which the coalition government was formed.

[Moravcik] Because I am not going to actually work as chairman of DEUS, I consider it an acceptable compromise, even with respect to this philosophy.

[SME] How are you going to explain to the voters that almost the entire executive of the new party worked for a while at Meciar's side in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia?

[Moravcik] If we peruse the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia program from the time the movement emerged and consider the people who created the movement, we cannot ever have such feelings because the present Movement for a Democratic Slovakia is something altogether different from the movement we then organized.

[SME] How do you explain the increase in your popularity to 25 percent?

[Moravcik] I would understand it unequivocally as a government preference. It means an endorsement of the idea with which we formed the government. We will try not to disappoint this confidence.

[SME] You have defined yourselves as a liberal entity. What do you intend to do to succeed, and does a liberal party have any chance in the context of what the Slovak voter has experienced over the past five years?

[Moravcik] The emphasis on being a liberal party is not important to us. The important part for us is that we promote the program we call liberal and submit it to the voter for his own assessment.

TA SR Director General Dismisses Chief Editor

AU2804092294 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 21 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by "(R)": "And the Purge Continues..."]

[Text] Immediately after he was introduced to his post by Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac, newly appointed TA SR Director General Ivan Melichercik recalled TA SR Chief Editor Dusan Kerny and Economic Deputy Rudolf Wurm. Kerny, the first chief editor of an independent Slovak news agency, was recalled 40 minutes after Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac, who praised TA SR's reportage and said that it was "done well, to a high professional standard," had left the agency's offices. Kerny managed the editorial office during the transition period following independence from the CTK service and organized the first direct subscription to foreign news agencies, including REUTER, AFP, DPA, and others. He also organized the first Slovak service in English for foreign consumers and established the first international editorial office in Slovakia since 1948.

Minister on Risks, Reasons for Privatization

AU2804104294 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Apr 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Privatization Minister Milan Janicina by Igor Zvach in Bratislava; date not given: "We Have To Take a Chance on Privatization"]

[Text] Bratislava—Perhaps nothing of late has led to such contradictory polemics as the decision by the provisional government to again prioritize the coupon method of privatization in the second privatization wave.

We discussed this issue—why, even at the cost of certain known risks or disadvantages of this method—with Milan Janicina, minister for the administration and privatization of national property.

[Zvach] So, Mr. Minister, why?

[Janicina] The main reason is that we do not have the domestic financial resources, including credits, which are very hard to get. Moreover, the influx of foreign capital is not as great as we would wish, for reasons I do not want to go into now. Set against this, there is the need to privatize a certain amount of property. And so, coupon privatization really seems to be the most viable starting point. In addition, this is, in fact, the most open and clear method of privatization, and many people are calling for openness. Quite simply, it is very difficult to "procure" property here for a "party" friend. This leads to one thing—to again place this method on a par with the others.

[Zvach] But this will not solve the lack of capital....

[Janicina] It is necessary to realize here that the aim of coupon privatization is not to gain capital but to transform ownership. However, a certain percentage of the shares, which will be earmarked for sale, will bring capital to a specific interested party.

[Zvach] There is still some anxiety that certain investment funds may, because of a lack of money, follow the path of foreign loans and so, in the end, a considerable proportion of our enterprises may end up uncontrollably in the hands of foreign owners. Has the government considered this risk?

[Janicina] We know about this risk. Capital is, however, international, and every economy faces a similar risk. This is really a matter of the seriousness or lack of seriousness of the approach of the individual funds. It cannot be ruled out, but we must take this chance if we want to proceed. We cannot talk ad infinitum about how and why something will not work. We simply cannot turn Slovakia into a fortress that could survive on its own.

[Zvach] Incidentally, the risk is the same with any influx of foreign capital, including direct capital. It is always possible to consider whether the foreign partner is, let us say, merely interested in gaining control of our markets and destroying domestic production. Is it ever possible to completely eliminate these risks?

[Janicina] Absolutely completely not. This is always connected with the appropriate agreement and the competence of the people who conclude it. We must never view an agreement only through the promises or obligations a foreign partner takes upon himself. The most important thing is to specify precisely these obligations in the agreement and then discuss exactly the sanctions that will be imposed if these obligations are not adhered to. If we proceed in this fashion, and, moreover, if we verify the seriousness of our partner beforehand, the risk, if not ruled out, is at least minimized.

[Zvach] In conclusion, something that perhaps interests the citizen most. Do you have any specific ideas yet about the price the citizen will pay for a coupon book and about the time frame for coupon privatization?

[Janicina] All of this will be discussed at the next government session on Tuesday, 26 April.

I am personally of the opinion that the price of a coupon book should not be higher than in the first round—that is, 1,000 korunas. In my view, there are even sufficient reasons for the price being lower. We will not itemize now. As far as the dates are concerned, according to our proposal, the registration of citizens should begin on 1 September 1994. The registration of investment privatization funds should also begin on the same date. The subsequent preliminary round—that is, ascribing the investment coupons to the funds—could begin on 3 October 1994, and the second round could begin on 2 January 1995. We are allowing for a total of five rounds; the last one should begin on 1 May 1995. So, in essence, we would like to complete the entire process within a year.

Schmognerova Outlines Economic, Social Aims

AU2604161394 Bratislava SME in Slovak 22 Apr 94 p 12

[Interview with Brigita Schmognerova, deputy prime minister for the economy, by Ivan Stulajter; place and date not given: "We Must Proceed in a Manner Ensuring That Extremism Does Not Prevail"]

[Text] [Stulajter] It seems that Slovakia is significantly nearer to receiving a stand-by loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In your opinion, what was the difference between the negotiations conducted with the IMF by Vladimir Meciar's government and the negotiations carried out a few days ago by Jozef Moravcik's government?

[Schmognerova] In the way the negotiations were conducted. When I was appointed, I was in the United States and I had the opportunity to speak with senior officials from the World Bank and the IMF. The upshot of this was that, immediately following our request, missions from these institutions came to Slovakia. As opposed to the previous negotiations, the government submitted its own concept for economic policy. Apart from this, we submitted an analysis of the risks facing the state budget and also an analysis of the measures for counteracting these risks. In the past, the approach at the negotiations was that the IMF drew up the basis for a memorandum on economic policy and the government then approved it. Our approach was much more active.

[Stulajter] Were there any differences between the IMF and government representatives?

[Schmognerova] Not in the aims we are pursuing. The IMF had pointed out in the past that transformation is slowing down significantly. Then, there was no certitude that the loan would be paid. We announced unequivocally that the transformation process will be speeded up.

[Stulajter] This is true, but the former government also—in its declarations—expressed its support for transformation. Deeds are important. What will the government's first steps be to improve its credibility vis-a-vis the IMF?

[Schmognerova] Before the end of the month, the government will submit to the National Council of the Slovak Republic draft laws on value-added tax, consumer tax, and child allowances.

[Stulajter] The draft law on value-added tax will obviously proceed from the addendum to the memorandum on the government's economic policy, which talked about amalgamating the rates for this tax...

[Schmognerova] This step has been prepared for a long time; the difference, however, will be that the rates will not be amalgamated, but that some items from the 6.0-percent tax bracket will be regrouped into the 25-percent bracket. It should transpire that the government

will have the possibility to determine by law which products will be burdened by the higher rate. It will be far more flexible this way.

[Stulajter] Can you tell us which products will not be affected by the higher value-added tax?

[Schmognerova] Basic foodstuffs and medicines.

[Stulajter] By how much will the state budget's revenue be increased?

[Schmognerova] It could amount to around 3.0 billion korunas.

[Stulajter] What about the child allowances?

[Schmognerova] The child allowances should be more targeted, depending on the minimum subsistence multiple. However, no decision has yet been made on the size of this multiple. Unfortunately, at the moment, there is no supplementary social system on whose basis we could categorize the claims for payment of these benefits. If we were to take twice the minimum subsistence level as the borderline for being able to claim family allowances, then child allowances would be paid to almost 88 percent of families. If there were a supplementary social system, this percentage could be lower. If there were social difficulties in families that lost their claim to these allowances, this situation could be remedied by a form of targeted assistance, for example, by various social stipends to support education in high schools and universities and so on.

[Stulajter] Will budget savings be the outcome of targeting the payment of child allowances?

[Schmognerova] This is our aim; however, it will not be achieved since there are no supplementary systems. In any case, this is the first step toward transforming the social sphere.

[Stulajter] In connection with minimizing the budget risks, the government says in its policy statement that it wants to concentrate on unfreezing outstanding claims and on reducing tax and customs evasion...

[Schmognerova] These are measures intended to give one-off assistance to the state budget. Tax collection can only be improved to a certain extent, then the efficiency of the appropriate measures becomes depleted. In principle, the same applies to unfreezing outstanding claims; but, this is implemented over a longer time frame. The decisive thing in this regard, however, is whether the decline in the economy has been halted or at least slowed down considerably.

[Stulajter] This is in fact an issue associated with the development of the gross domestic product. In this context, what do you intend to concentrate on?

[Schmognerova] Definitely on developing the private sector, on small and medium-size enterprise, on halting the decline in the enterprise sphere, and on exports.

[Stulajter] As far as exports are concerned, what kind of pro-export measures can the government take?

[Schmognerova] We would like to expand activities associated with providing insurance and possible credit for exports, as long as the resources are found. It will be necessary to improve the information available to our entrepreneurial sphere on the possibilities for exporting. In this context, the government has made it its goal to conclude bilateral agreements to create a good foundation for conducting trade.

[Stulajter] How do you intend to proceed with regard to Russia?

[Schmognerova] I discussed this with the Russian Federation's ambassador. The question of a link to the gas pipeline that will lead from Russia across Poland is still open. There is great interest in this project and there will be a certain amount of competition among the interested parties. The Russian side would be glad if Slovakia were to hold its ground in this competition. At the moment, we are looking very intensely at the options for financing this project. The options are also being outlined for Russian help in completing the Mochovce nuclear power plant.

[Stulajter] Why would the Russian side be pleased if Slovakia were to hold its ground in this competition?

[Schmognerova] This is what the ambassador said.

[Stulajter] A link to the gas pipeline is one issue, another is Slovak exports to the Russian market...

[Schmognerova] The demand for agricultural products has declined and, for this reason, our export potential is limited. In addition, what we are able export comes up against strong competition from the European Union where foodstuffs are heavily subsidized. The situation is similar with regard to exports of engineering equipment. Western exporters receive very advantageous export credits, which Slovakia cannot afford. Despite this, Slovak enterprises should try harder to penetrate into this territory. It is often emphasized that Russian enterprises have payment problems; this is only part of the truth, however. There are also solvent partners there and it is necessary to make contact with them.

[Stulajter] The issue of the insufficient ability of Slovak products to compete on world markets is closely associated with the lack of foreign capital, which would bring advanced technology and know-how. What can the government do to increase the flow of foreign capital to Slovakia?

[Schmognerova] The entry of foreign capital, compared with the Czech Republic or Hungary, is rather minimal. For example, in 1993, the growth of foreign capital in the Czech Republic was four times higher than in Slovakia during the same period. Moreover, we also included capital from the Czech lands in foreign capital. Everyone knows this, but somehow does not think it through. If the political situation here is not stable and predictable,

"decent" capital will rarely come here. Foreign investors are alarmed by the confrontational statements with regard to the Hungarian minority and the extensive personnel changes throughout the state administration following the government changeover.

[Stulajter] The issue does not merely involve the replacement of civil servants, but the way it is being done.

[Schmognerova] Yes, it involves the overall style.

[Stulajter] What is your opinion of creating advantages for foreign capital by means of various kinds of tax relief?

[Schmognerova] I would not overestimate this. If there is political instability in a country, tax holidays mean little to foreign investors. After all, what guarantees do they have that they will not be canceled?

[Stulajter] That was direct investments; what is your view of the entry of foreign capital into privatization? Some warnings are being issued about selling off national property cheaply, about the Slovak market being bought out.

[Schmognerova] We certainly have to be careful. However, the risks will be reduced in the sense that we will base our decisions on the advice of well-known and reputable consultancy companies and privatization will take place in the form of competitions. I want to emphasize that we are very interested in foreign investors who have development plans and know-how. However, we are not interested in laundering dirty money.

[Stulajter] Has there in fact been money laundering?

[Schmognerova] Yes, several cases are being investigated.

[Stulajter] The government has conceived a very broad program. It is even being said that some of its intentions go beyond its six- month mandate. On the other hand, who continues this program after the elections is important. If we had thought in 1990, 1991, and also partly in 1992 that the initiated reforms were irreversible, then the government of V. Meciar—to say the least—cast doubts on this conviction of irreversibility. This is a political commitment for the parties that currently make up the coalition.

[Schmognerova] Naturally, each of these parties has the ambition to continue this program after the elections. As an economist, I am very well aware of how much time has been wasted. I entered the government knowing that I did not want there to be any more wasted time. I realize that if, after the elections, those political forces that were in power previously get into government once more, then the reforms would again be slowed down considerably or even halted. Therefore, the present government has to try to find a way of establishing development tendencies in the economy and, at the same time, of not forfeiting the people's trust.

[Stulajter] Fine, but there is a real possibility that those forces you mentioned will return. The government is now faced with the task of bringing Slovakia's economic—and social—life out of the considerable influence of the state, where political power is concentrated most intensively. Quite simply, it is vital not to give the state a chance to turn into a dictatorship...

[Schmognerova] I do not think we are able to "catch" all the risks. Incidentally, there is a risk of undemocratic development in every society. Take a look at history. There were states that had very advanced democratic institutions, but change still occurred in them. From the point of view of the current government, it is important that the measures in economic and social policy are such that no prerequisites are created in Slovakia for a victory by extremists.

[Stulajter] In this context, however, the government will win the citizens' trust by means of visible acts carried out in the present as measures that will bear fruit at some distant and unspecified future time. After all, who else here cares about the future?

[Schmognerova] We are working on using the foreign aid that was and is earmarked for Slovakia. I received an analysis drawn up by the Foreign Ministry on the utilization of foreign aid in the second half of 1993. You would be surprised at the amount of money we had at our disposal and how little of it was used. At the same time, these are not loans.

[Stulajter] In view of the fact that you only have six months, and to make sure that the government's work bears visible fruit now, it is perhaps necessary to ask: What do we not want to do? Not because the government would lack sufficient will, but because not very much can be done in such a short period and the government may pay dearly for a too widespread span of activities.

[Schmognerova] I have not thought about it like that; but I will contemplate it. I know one thing, however. The government will not prevent the liquidation of inefficient and heavily loss- making state enterprises. It will only prevent this in cases where—from the point of view of employment in the region—it would involve a major enterprise. Such a measure will only be taken when alternative employment has been found.

SZDSZ's Kuncze Views Election Preparations

AU2804104394 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 94 p 11

[Interview with Gabor Kuncze, prime ministerial candidate of the Alliance of Free Democrats, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "I Am Seeking the Conditions for a Balanced Coalition"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Pinter] What do you think of the view that to take on a governmental role automatically means the end for a liberal party because it is only possible to draw up and properly construct a liberal ideology in opposition?

[Kuncze] I do not believe that the government's role is to create ideologies, at least, it will not be the task of the government led by the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. In my view, the electors are expecting us to put the economy in order at last. The SZDSZ and the other liberal parties have the necessary program to do this. Therefore, if we form a government, this will mean the end of something else, namely of the unfounded accusations.

[Pinter] In your view, to what extent have the parties of the liberal alliance remained together?

[Kuncze] A cooperation agreement is in force between the SZDSZ, the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz], the Liberal Civic Alliance-Entrepreneurs' Party, and the Agrarian Federation, which does not actually cement these parties together but makes it likely that these parties wish to work together even in the period after the elections. However, it is still possible that a liberal party may not participate in a possible government coalition even if its election results made it eligible for government. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] Many people see the intention of the SZDSZ and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] to participate in the same government coalition as a fact. Is this justified?

[Kuncze] The MSZP's economic policy carries Laszlo Bekesi's name, however, even the MSZP's current leadership cannot tell whether this concept will be accepted by the majority of the MSZP's membership and the future parliamentary group. If it is not accepted then we have nothing to talk about. We have to wait for the final results of the elections, and we have to see to what extent the various parties are able to assert their ideas in the coalition talks. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] To what extent can the voters view the SZDSZ's ideas that have so far been made public as a government program?

[Kuncze] We are disseminating a version of the program that is easy to understand, so it is accessible for everyone. On the last page of our election program, we printed the following: "Keep this booklet because you will be able to question the SZDSZ's politicians on whether they have implemented what they promised." If we did not honestly believe that we could implement our plans when we are in government then we would not have written this sentence here. We assessed the tasks months ago, and we now precisely know what the first measures will have to be in governmental position. The first draft bills will soon be ready, we are now working on the texts. We also know what kind of amendments we will propose in the operation of Parliament and the government. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] In your personal experience, what changes do the SZDSZ sympathizers expect you to introduce?

[Kuncze] People are very well aware that we are facing difficult years to come and a real economic boom still has to wait. Therefore, first of all, they want honesty and sincerity from the politicians. They want to be treated as human beings, and they want their problems to be understood, in other words, the country first of all wants a change of style: a new style of politics, a new style in building relations with society, a new style in cooperation with the opposition, and a new style in the mechanisms of interest coordination. The electors expect the establishment of new workplaces to be at the forefront in the implementation of the economic policy, and we agree with this: Our proposals to increase investments, to attract more foreign capital, and to accelerate privatization are aimed at this goal. It is possible to establish the conditions for economic growth and this will be the basis for increasing living standards.

Both the SZDSZ and the electors believe that the relationship between the government and the local governments has to be changed. We have to recognize the fact that everyone is living in a local government area. The operation of the local governments largely influences people's feelings about living in this country. The government and the local governments should be working by assisting each other, rather than opposing each other. We also want to implement in other areas, too, the kind of politics where antagonism decreases and cooperation increases.

[Pinter] These goals are impossible to implement without a broad political consensus. Can you see any chance of this?

[Kuncze] Yes, under an SZDSZ government. The next government will even have to agree to limit its own sphere of operation if this can make the consensus more solid. We are prepared for this. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] The SZDSZ rejected with visible annoyance the idea that the elections will actually be decided by a duel between the MSZP and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. Has your protest had any effect?

[Kuncze] These two parties are playing the game of strengthening each other. Everyone who does not like the MDF should go to the MSZP and everyone who is afraid of the MSZP should support the MDF. Through this, the two parties show what they are most afraid of. Their

claims are not true on the basic level of facts, either. As for [Prime Minister] Boross's statement that they are still in the competition, it is contradicted by all public opinion polls. The electors have long decided who has to leave. The question is, who should come. I am certain that the electors do not just want to swap their tulips for carnations [the MDF and MSZP symbols] and keep all else the same. I am seeking the conditions for a balanced coalition. However, we will not achieve any change if the MSZP becomes very strong.

The MDF's fate shows that the electors did not like the concealed one-party system any more than the open one before. This is why we are asking the electors to vote for us. A strong SZDSZ is a guarantee that the practice of the past four years will not be continued and, at the same time, there will not be a return to the practice of the past four decades, either.

[Pinter] The SZDSZ has a completely different attitude to the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]. What is this to indicate?

[Kuncze] The SZDSZ is an party open to all democratic directions, therefore, we have not excluded the possibility of cooperation with the KDNP, either. However, we are not conducting talks with the KDNP to strengthen our relations. [passage omitted]

Entrepreneurs' Chairman Views Election Chances

AU2804095294 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Apr 94 p 4

["Sz.Sz."-signed interview with Peter Zwack, chairman of the Liberal Civic Alliance-Entrepreneurs' Party; place and date not given: "List Leaders Give Interviews—Zwack: The Party of Economic Conscience"]

[Text] In our election series, the list leaders of parties that set up national lists are giving interviews on the typical program points and concepts of their parties. In reply to our question, Peter Zwack, chairman of the Liberal Civic Alliance-Entrepreneurs' Party [LPSZ-VP], said that they would like as many entrepreneurs as possible to get into parliament because it is impossible to base a successful economic policy on ideologies.

[Zwack] We want to represent the interests of small and medium sized enterprises. Initially, our organization was called Entrepreneurs' Party and we later added the name Liberal Civic Alliance to this. This expresses our intention also to open toward the intellectual entrepreneurs, namely lawyers, doctors, and so on. At the moment, Hungary does not have a strong middle class, therefore, the LPSZ-VP mainly deals with economic issues. This party is something unique to Hungary, we could call ourselves the party of economic conscience. We intend to help as many entrepreneurs as possible into Parliament. We would be happy to end our operation in eight to 12 years' time if the economic processes get to a level where our party is no longer needed.

We find it unfortunate that the current coalition was organized on an ideological basis and the professional viewpoints were pushed into the background. The Christian and popular-national way of thinking is respectable but an economic policy cannot be based on this. In our view, the serious economic crisis is partly due to the fact that the government did not have a clear economic policy that could have been followed. Under such circumstances, it is impossible to create enterprises.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] The LPSZ-VP is part of the four-party liberal cooperation. In view of the various polemic statements, how stable do you think the liberal bloc is?

[Zwack] The alliance is more stable than the media often allows people to believe, although arguments certainly do exist between the leaders of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]. Prime Minister Peter Boross is applying clever tactics when he says that a contest of the left wing and the coalition can be expected at the elections. In contrast to this, the experience of setting up the candidates shows that the liberal bloc is so strong that even if it does not reach 50 percent, it will be able to choose its coalition partners. As a matter of fact, in my view, a responsible prime minister cannot state that the country will not have a stable government unless the current coalition wins.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What are your views on your party's election chances, with special reference to the fact that, according to the surveys, the LPSZ-VP's current support does not reach the 5 percent necessary to get into Parliament?

[Zwack] It is unfortunate that we did not manage to set up a list in Budapest in the end. At the same time, we put up 69 individual candidates and we have regional lists in 14 counties. We are doing all we can to get into Parliament, but even if we do not succeed in this, our party will play a more important role in the future than now. Our link with the entrepreneurs may upgrade our role, among our allies are those liberal parties that we hope will be determining forces in the next government. We will suggest the establishment of an economic top ministry, an advisory body for the future prime minister, which will consist of small and medium entrepreneurs, and the introduction of a two-chamber parliamentary system.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] If the parties of the liberal bloc do not reach 50 percent, you will have to think about the potential coalition partners. It is obvious that two alternatives exist: the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] or the current coalition parties. Has the LPSZ-VP formed its stance on this?

[Zwack] Not yet, and this issue was not discussed at the latest meeting of the four liberal parties, either. We will be able to decide with whom to form a coalition when the election results are known. We agreed that we will do all we can for the best possible election performance of the liberal bloc and that we will begin coordination talks on the future government program. We can be certain about

one thing: The better our results are at the elections, the fewer compromises we will have to accept when the coalition is formed.

Parties' Foreign Policy Programs Described

AU2604162594 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 23 Apr 94 p 13

[Text] Foreign policy is an area that did not much divide the parliamentary parties after the change of the regime. After 1990, it was almost fashionable to talk about foreign policy as a kind of success story and to refer to the foreign policy consensus between the parties. However, by now, this consensus is almost entirely broken and foreign policy has become an organic part of the election campaign. In fact, disagreements can be suspected in the approach to certain issues within the coalition and within the opposition parties. Regarding major foreign policy goals, the political parties tend to agree; however, there is a sharp debate among them on the order of priorities and the means to implement these goals. In our report, we investigated how the current and possible future parliamentary parties would form foreign policy in the next governmental cycle.

Federation of Young Democrats: Foreign Policy Triangle

The Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] has formulated its concept as a foreign policy triangle that coincides considerably with the line followed by Hungary since the change of the regime, Jozsef Szajer, chairman of the party's National Committee, told MAGYAR NEMZET. Szajer said that this triangle consists of European integration, national minority policy, and regional and neighborly cooperation, three factors that are closely interrelated. The Young Democrats believe that, for Hungary, there is no alternative to integration and gaining membership of the European Union [EU], because the cost of staying out of it would be much higher than the possible costs of joining.

The Fidesz believes that drawing up the program of domestic preparations is the most important element of membership, namely forming the real mechanisms of market economy in a way that will also conform to the EU's conditions. The Fidesz also considers legal harmonization necessary, which presumes social and economic decisions that may cause serious problems and can even attract heavy burdens. Therefore, the Fidesz believes that the aim has to be that this preparedness can be proved when the conditions of joining are set out.

In the case of a nation a third of which is living outside the borders, the national minority issue will always be a fundamental and central element of foreign policy, Szajer said. Neglecting this can cause serious domestic political problems both in Hungary and in the neighboring states. Therefore, the Fidesz believes that it has to have a very circumspect policy, bearing in mind the sentiments of national minorities and of the majority nations. They see the Antall government's national minority policy as basically correct, but they found it lacking empathy with the nations of the neighboring countries. Hungarian leaders have made statements on a number of occasions which were ambiguous and did not improve the relationship between the minority and majority; however, in terms of deeds, the government has not made any serious mistakes in the past period, Szajer said. In addition to all this, the Fidesz feels it necessary to improve communication with the leaders of the neighboring countries, and considers the continuation of dialogue very important even if it does not lead to early results. The long-term solution of the national minority issue presumably depends on the development of economic cooperation, which in turn can be very positively influenced by intergovernmental dialogue. In connection with signing the basic treaties, Szajer said: If these documents lay down national minority protection guarantees—which are essential for the region's stability—then the Fidesz does not see any obstacles to this "symbolic decision." At the same time, they feel that the basic treaties have to be based on already functioning economic, cultural, and church agreements.

Christian Democratic People's Party: A Quicker Way to Europe

For us, of primary importance is to live in peace with neighboring states, which in turn have to respect the rights of the Hungarian minorities. It is important to accelerate our approach to Europe. In the interest of strengthening our security, we believe that NATO should give certain guarantees to Hungary even before we become full NATO members, was how Laszlo Varga, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], summed up the party's foreign policy goals.

Talking about relations with our neighbors, he said that the UN decision of 19 December 1992 clearly laid down the rights of the national minorities. According to Varga, there is no point again including the border issue in the basic treaties to be made with our neighbors because this issue was clearly settled by the Helsinki Final Act: The borders of countries cannot be forcefully changed, but it would be a mistake to surrender the possibility included in the Final Act on facilitating certain changes through peaceful means and negotiations.

Varga also said that our neighbors should realize that the Hungarian minorities do not threaten their statehood and territorial integrity; therefore, it is pointless raising anxiety and fears. According to Varga, the settlement of the national minority issue might be advanced by the fact that, after the emergence of the south Slav crisis and the critical areas in the wake of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the West has also recognized the importance of this issue.

Talking about our approach to Europe, Varga explained that, according to their experience, our membership request that was submitted at the beginning of April has the support of all the EU member states, and our efforts

are viewed with sympathy; therefore, it would presumably be possible to accelerate our process of gaining membership, which might, in an optimal case, lead to membership in 1998 or 1999.

Hungarian Democratic Forum: European Integration and Hungarians Beyond the Border

The foreign policy priorities of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] can be summed up as two points: European integration and Hungarians beyond the border, Gyorgy Csoti, foreign affairs spokesman of the MDF, told MAGYAR NEMZET. These two elements of the foreign policy program are inseparable and neither can be placed above the other. Good-neighborly relations have a basic importance and they are in the interests of Hungary and of the Hungarians living beyond the border, while, at the same time, they are inseparable from the situation of these Hungarians. Good-neighborly relations can only be a result of the settling of the problems of minority Hungarians because this is virtually the only reason for our tense relations with the neighboring countries. According to Csoti, it is inconceivable for the Hungarian Government first to form good relations with the leadership of the neighboring countries and then the situation of the Hungarians beyond the border to improve as a result of this. He pointed out that, in the history of the past 74 years, none of the governments was able to resolve this issue; in fact, although interstate relations were excellent, the situation of the Hungarians beyond the border has continued to deteriorate over the past 45 years. According to Csoti, the situation of the minority Hungarians is most critical in Romania. Owing to the new Moravcik government, the prospects are better in Slovakia, and in Serbia, too.

Csoti denied that the MDF's foreign policy has changed in connection with Yugoslavia. A year and a half ago, the Hungarian Government said that limited military intervention can curb the violence and the escalation of the war, and, at that time, a chance still existed for this. However, these constant threats that are never implemented will lose their credibility, and even if Belgrade takes them seriously, they are having a decreasing effect on the events. By now, we probably have a Lebanon-style crisis that can only be handled in the long term. For this very reason, certain doubts were raised, among other things, in connection with the fruitless embargo. Csoti believes that it has to be reassessed, rather than discarded. It has to be eased, or made total, even together with military actions, in the interest of an early result, because it is untenable since a long drawn-out embargo is also a burden on other countries of the region. However, on the embargo issue, the MDF is not in favor of unilateral Hungarian measures; UN decisions have to be observed even if Hungary, as a badly affected country, raises doubts.

Csoti also denied that, even initially, the government had tried to keep distance from the region of the former Soviet Union. The initial difficulties can be explained through the completely collapsed economies and the approximately $2 billion debts of Russia, Ukraine, and the other former Soviet republics. However, the Hungarian Government immediately stood by Gorbachev and Yeltsin when anti-democratic coups were attempted against them, and it was Budapest that first made an agreement with Russia and Ukraine. However, according to the MDF, Hungary cannot commit itself to any of the major powers even if, for historical reasons, relations with certain countries are closer than with others.

Hungarian Socialist Party: To Reestablish Consensus

It is the responsibility of the future governing parties to change the perception of consensus and to reestablish it by including the opposition in foreign policy decisions that affect the country's fundamental interests, and by acquiring for these the support of the broadest possible public, Laszlo Kovacs, chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, said for the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], also using this as an argument for his party's proposal to confirm our EU and NATO membership in a referendum. In his view, the major directions of foreign policy that were contained in the 1990 government program accepted by Parliament have to be preserved: close ties with the West, normal relations with the neighbors, and support for the assertion of the rights of Hungarians living beyond the border. These major directions follow from Hungary's interests and circumstances, and from the international conditions, and the parties have had a consensus on these issues. However, Kovacs believes that, owing to the "government's clumsiness," we have not managed to get as close to these goals as was possible; in fact, relations with our neighbors have deteriorated—"with some of them expressly"—which, together with other factors, has damaged Hungary's foreign image and limited the effectiveness of Hungarian foreign policy, including the efficiency of efforts made in the interest of Hungarians living beyond the border.

In his party's view, the relationship between the major directions of foreign policy has to be changed. A balance has to be established because these three directions are closely interrelated and if we try to assert any one of them to the detriment of the other two, this will have a negative effect on the whole foreign policy. The foreign policy attitude also needs to be changed. We cannot start from a sense of a mission, and foreign policy cannot be based on historical grievances or merits, on desires or assumptions. Foreign policy has to be based on interests, mutual interests of Hungary and the partner states have to be found, or the opportunity has to be established to coordinate these interests, Kovacs emphasized. He also said that we have to take international realities as a basis, and we have to keep assessing them and gauging the changes. We have to start from the "actual support" for the country's international efforts, and we "must not overestimate Hungary's international importance and role."

The MSZP would also like to change the foreign political instrument system and the style of foreign policy. It would stop the practice of trying to "exert pressure" on our neighbors as this has not been successful in the past four years, either. The restriction of relations cannot be a foreign policy instrument, either, because none of our neighbors needs cooperation as much as we do; and we must not try to isolate any of our neighbors and hinder their access to international organizations.

At negotiations, the partner must not be treated in a condescending manner or lectured, not even on Hungarian history. It is not the task of Hungarian politicians to make up for the deficiencies, for example, of Western history education, Kovacs says. On the other hand, we have to initiate confidence-building gestures. In politics, we need "to understand the partner's way of thinking," and it is very important to remove the possibilities of misunderstandings and misinterpretations. This is one of the reasons that respect for expertise in foreign policy has to be restored, and the practice that "ambassadors and diplomats, fearing their positions, report what they believe the government or the Foreign Ministry leadership would like to hear" has to be stopped.

Workers' Party: Opening Also to the East

A serious party cannot ignore the European directions of development; therefore, the Workers' Party is in favor of developing extensive relations in all directions, including the East, Joachim Vasas, member of the party's Executive Committee, emphasized. However, a referendum will have to decide on EU and NATO membership. It is essential that the integration processes are not implemented to the detriment of the country. Up to now, the agricultural sector and industry have been sacrificed at the altar of EU membership and the market of Hungarian goods in Hungary and in the neighboring countries has been destroyed. The country will continue to be waiting for EU membership for years to come because the European Union always backtracks, shuts itself off, makes conditions, and dictates. For professional and political reasons, the Workers' Party does not support NATO membership, because this is against Hungary's elementary national interests. Yugoslavia, Romania, or Ukraine are unlikely to become NATO members, and a Hungarian membership would only increase distrust, further annoy our neighbors, and damage the situation of Hungarians living there. We must strive for normal and balanced economic and political relations with the neighboring countries, Vasas continued, because this establishes the basis for improving the situation of Hungarian minorities living there. As a matter of fact, the Hungarian Parliament, by denying the right to the national minorities living in Hungary to set up independent electoral lists, has lost its ground to speak up for the Hungarians living beyond the border in a credible way.

Alliance of Free Democrats: Small Steps Toward Our Neighbors

The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] starts from the premise that the three major foreign policy areas, namely European integration, relations with neighboring countries, and the problem of Hungarian minorities living beyond the borders, need to be handled together, Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, foreign affairs spokesman of the SZDSZ, told MAGYAR NEMZET. As for the Europe policy, it is the party's strategic goal that membership of the European Union must follow adequate preparations. This foreign policy task also has many domestic political implications, mainly in the area of the economy and legal harmonization, and the necessary institutions will have to be established to coordinate the preparations.

Rather than the time of membership, they consider it vital that the process actually begins and talks on membership are started as soon as possible. Until then, the SZDSZ advocates that cooperation with the European Union should be increasingly diverse. At the same time, in the area of foreign and security policy, they wish to ensure an earlier participation of Hungary in European institutions, and they would also like to achieve our participation in the work of the important European decision-making bodies with consultative rights before full membership is achieved.

As for neighborhood policy, according to Szent-Ivanyi, this is the weak side, the most vulnerable part of Hungarian foreign policy at the moment. While there is a general consensus of goals on Europe policy, the approaches fundamentally differ on neighborhood policy. We must not set ideological-style conditions; rather, our interest lies in the ability to make progress concomitantly in two closely related areas, namely in ensuring the rights of Hungarians beyond the border and improving bilateral relations. In the area of neighborhood policy, the politics of small steps is important to make various economic agreements and strengthen cultural links, and it is the SZDSZ's goal that we contribute to the improvement of the situation of Hungarians beyond the border through these links, too. As for the possible signing of the basic treaties, the SZDSZ starts from the premise that these treaties are a means rather than an end: A means to settling the existing problems. Therefore, they advocate such basic treaties that can contribute to easing the disagreements. They do not reject that issues considered important by the partners—including the border issue—can be part of these treaties; however, they only see any point in this if the treaties can also resolve the issues considered important by Hungary.

In the SZDSZ's view, security policy is inseparable from foreign policy. They consider Hungary's NATO membership a strategic goal. They hope that this can be achieved in a foreseeable period, within a few years. Until then, it is necessary to prepare the proposal that outlines Hungary's tasks within the "Partnership for Peace" program as soon as possible.

Independent Smallholders Party: Turning Toward Asia

Although the traditional directions of foreign relations have to be maintained, instead of the "one-sided foreign policy orientation," the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP] wishes to lay emphasis on areas hitherto neglected. The party led by Jozsef Torgyan would conduct a foreign policy that also considers our economic interests and would pay more attention to Europe, and, for example, to the Scandinavian region. An orientation toward Asia is marked in the party's foreign policy program, they would a "give new meaning" to our policy on this region, mainly to cooperation with India and China, and they would also lay more emphasis on relations with Japan and the "Asian tigers," including Taiwan.

On the issue of Hungarians living beyond the border, the FKGP intends to form good-neighborly relations with all neighboring countries, but a triple autonomy, namely cultural, personal, and territorial autonomy, is a condition for this. According to the FKGP, collective rights, self-determination, and autonomy are the three basic pillars of the rights due to Hungarians living beyond the border.

Hungarian Justice and Life Party: National Interest Comes First

The Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP] considers European integration important but this cannot enjoy priority over national interests, MIEP Cochairman Lajos Horvath said. The MIEP feels that Hungarian foreign policy's lukewarm attitude to the national minorities is due to the fact that, in the interest of European integration, its politicians are trying to give the impression that Hungary would even be prepared to abandon the interest protection of its own national minorities in the interest of gaining membership. From the Hungarian security point of view, it would be good if NATO accepted it as a member, but we have to be aware that, through the peace partnership, NATO has actually rejected Central Europe, so we have to organize our security policy cognisant of this fact. Only a referendum can decide on possible membership.

The fate of the national minorities living beyond the border has a definite priority within the MIEP's policy. It is important to build good relations with the neighboring countries but this cannot depend on basic treaties, and certainly cannot be a repeat of the formula laid down in the basic treaty with Ukraine. In the spirit of the Helsinki Accord, the MIEP is against the forceful alteration of borders but, apart from this, it is totally unnecessary to lay down these principles again. This would be a gesture submitting ourselves to the will of others, which cannot be accepted by a proud nation.

Survey Shows Increased Support for Socialists

AU2604163094 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Apr 94 p 7

[Text] The number of Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] supporters increased by 4 percent in April; therefore, some 24 percent of the population that is eligible to vote support the Socialists. The voters of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] increased by 2 percent, which is not statistically significant, but it means that they have caught up with the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz]. In the case of the other parties, the changes are even smaller. Support for Fidesz and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] has not changed (9 and 5 percent), while support for the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP] increased by 1 percent (to 7 and 6 percent). Based on public opinion polls of recent months, it can be said that the leading group of parties has become stabilized. The six parties that gained seats in parliament in 1990 also have the biggest chance to do so in 1994. The support level for the non- parliamentary parties is around 1 or 2 percent—such as, the Workers' Party, the Agrarian Federation, the Entrepreneurs' Party, the Repbulic Party, the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP], and the United Smallholders Party [EKGP]—or does not even reach this minimum—for example, the National Democratic Federation [NDSZ] and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary [MSZDP]. More people became certain about their preferences as the parliamentary candidates became known, party lists were published, and the campaign became more intensive. While in the second half of March, 40 percent of the citizens could not or did not want to vote; this went down to 34 percent in April.

At the moment, 64 percent of the electors promise definite participation, and a large majority of them also named the party they would probably vote for. In the month before the elections, we can attribute major importance to this group. They are the most likely participants of the 8 May elections. (These people say they would vote for a party or deputy "this Sunday.") At the moment, 49 percent of the adult population belongs to the group of potential voters, 5 percent more than in the second half of March. The members of this group have a higher than average schooling level, and most of them are middle-aged rather than young or old. In this group, the MSZP has a large advantage; it enjoys almost four-tenths of the support of active electors. It is the SZDSZ that managed to increase the number of its voters among the potential voters, thus claiming second place, while the MDF has the third largest active support.

At the moment, 15 percent of the electors—more than 1 million people—consider themselves definite voters but do not know which party to vote for. Elderly people and Budapest citizens are more typical among them than the average. The parties can still increase their number of voters from this group; however, we can only approach

their electoral orientation indirectly from their negative sentiments. It follows that those parties have a smaller chance of gaining the support of these people, for which more of them show antagonistic feelings. In this sense, the MDF can be the most pessimistic because antagonistic feelings are shown toward this party by most people (21 percent). Quite a few people also spoke negatively about the FKGP [11 percent). From the group that is certain about participating in the voting but uncertain about the choice, 7 percent named the Workers' Party and the MSZP as parties worth voting for, and 5 percent mentioned MIEP. An increasing number of the population believes that, according to the political power structure, the MSZP has the biggest chance to win the elections. At the end of March, every fourth elector assumed that the Socialists would win the elections and every third believed this in April.

The survey was carried out 8-18 April 1994. One thousand people who represent the country's population over the age of 14 were questioned. Of the 1,000 questioned, 936 are eligible to vote. The group to be examined was Hungarian citizens over the age of 18 who have a permanent address in Hungary. The structure of this group and that of the surveyed people correspond in age, gender, and type of dwelling.

The data received in the public opinion survey can at the most deviate by 4 percent if every citizen who is eligible to vote had been asked; however, the results arrived at in the survey have the biggest likelihood.

SLD Official New Deputy Minister of Defense

Nominated by Defense Minister

LD2504195494 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer Dorota Warakomska] Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejdzyk has addressed the prime minister with a request for the nomination of Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] Deputy Danuta Waniek as deputy minister in his ministry.

[Unidentified correspondent] The head of the defense ministry called the candidature of Danuta Waniek a promising one.

[Begin Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk recording] This is a person who has a good legal preparation, with significant experience, and parliamentary experience, too. I judge that she will cope excellently with the fundamental issues that will be in the sphere of her responsibility. At issue here are the legislative processes that are so very important for the Army and for its reform and that have been so consistently neglected over these past few years. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Danuta Waniek is the first person proposed by the SLD for a post of deputy minister in a presidential ministry and accepted by the head of the ministry in question. The president, despite his earlier opposition, expressed consent, after the Wednesday meeting with the SLD Parliamentary Club, for the introduction of representatives of the coalition into the Defense Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

SLD Deputy Zbigniew Sobotka is being named as the most serious candidate for deputy minister of internal affairs, whereas Marek Siwiec, a member of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council [and also the editor in chief of the TRYBUNA daily and a SLD deputy], is being nominated for deputy foreign minister.

Interviewed by TRYBUNA

WS2704131194 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 27 Apr 94 pp 1-2

[Interview with Danuta Waniek, newly appointed deputy minister of national defense, by Aleksander Frydrychowicz; place and date not given: "A Crazy Idea of Aleksander"; last four paragraphs attributed to "ALF"]

[Excerpts] [Frydrychowicz] How did it happen that a candidate for the government's plenipotentiary for women's affairs became deputy minister at the most masculine ministry?

[Waniek] It was the crazy idea of Olek [Aleksander] Kwasniewski. He came up with this idea as the ultimate method of winning on a flank that was not easily accessible. I received the first nomination among the candidates for deputy ministers in the "presidential ministries."

[Frydrychowicz] Were you happy to move from one ministry to another?

[Waniek] This is a much more difficult task than my previous position. I have had an idea for several years of how the Office of the Plenipotentiary for the Affairs of Women, Family, and Young People should be organized. I fought for the implementation of this concept with consecutive governments.

The post I am taking over today is something new in a way. There are certainly people in the Ministry of National Defense [MON] who have also dealt with these matters so far; however, my task lies in steering a ministerial structure the position of which will be different from the position to date.

[Frydrychowicz] What will be the range of your duties?

[Waniek] I will be the ministry's liaison with parliament and the spokesman for civil rights. I will deal with the issues of military courts and prosecutor's offices. The section dealing with interventions will also be subordinated to me. However, I must still thoroughly study the list of duties that has been handed to me along with the nomination. After skimming it, I can say that I will have certain remarks to make. I suppose that I will have to hold some minor talks with Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

[Frydrychowicz] Is this a matter of broadening or narrowing your powers?

[Waniek] It is a matter of making them more specific. I would prefer to do this right at the beginning so that I will not encroach upon anyone's powers and no one will encroach upon mine. [passage omitted]

* * *

"At the motion of the minister of national defense, on 26 April 1994 I hereby appoint you to the post of under secretary of state in MON." Such a letter, dated 22 April, was signed by Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak late on the evening on 25 April. On the following day, Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk presented it to Democratic Left Alliance Deputy Danuta Waniek.

Asked by journalists whether, as a woman, she "feels the military issues," Danuta Waniek replied: "I have had no relations with MON; however, many males are in the same situation."

Even though she was appointed deputy minister, Danuta Waniek has no intention of giving up her activities in the parliamentary women's group.

At a press conference, the newly appointed deputy minister said that she had qualifications to fulfill the

present function. She is a doctor of parliamentary and constitutional law and a graduate of a political science department in Vienna.

Interviewed by ZYCIE WARSZAWY

WS2804093094 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Apr 94 p 6

[Interview with Polish Deputy Defense Minister Danuta Waniek by Luiza Kowalska; place and date not given: "More Women Will Also Have To Be Included in Polish Defense Ministry"]

[Text] [Kowalska] Have you had any prior contact with the Army?

[Waniek] No. (After a moment). Oh, I am sorry—I did go through military training at the university, and, while I was in high school, I took a course entitled "Defensive Adaptation." An excellent teacher happened to teach the class in my school, and he was the one who shaped my sympathetic attitude toward the Army.

[Kowalska] How do you intend to go about achieving authority with the military cadre, which is so conservative that it sometimes even has a hard time accepting the supervision of civilian males?

[Waniek] I am not really sure about this whole conservatism thing. I have been asked about this for several days now, but I have to see for myself first whether the cadre is really that conservative. Besides, our Army is making efforts to be included in European structures. So it follows that the Army must modernize its organizational structures, the same way it is happening all over the world. More women will have to be included in our Ministry of National Defense [MON].

[Kowalska] There are some who fear that your nomination may make it difficult to make attempts to increase parliamentary supervision over MON. Right now, the dispute is taking place in the area of disciplinary internal regulations because the military does not want a civilian supervisor to be able to discipline it, even if the supervisor is a minister. What do you think will be the reaction of a general with years of experience when faced with the prospect of being disciplined by a woman?

[Waniek] That is a very difficult problem. One must have an understanding of the Army. I can understand the resistance, even though I watched the dispute from a distance. Perhaps a more comprehensive debate on the issue will allow both sides to elaborate on their positions regarding Army issues. I have always greatly respected those who serve in the Army because they have devoted their entire professional lives to the military. I have been in MON for three days, and it would be hard to say that my whole life was associated with the Army, as opposed to a majority of officers. So there must be a difference between us. Of course, I am referring to the advantage of a professional military.

[Kowalska] What is your assessment of the changes that are taking place right now in MON, aimed at moving many powers from the "civilian" sector to the General Staff?

[Waniek] One must somehow find a middle-of-the-road solution. I do not think that the Army's isolation from the environment in which it functions—which, after all, is a civilian environment—could possibly be to anybody's advantage. I think the trend to open armies up to the civilian world, which has been observed throughout Europe and in Poland for four years now, is probably the right trend. The Army will always retain its specific nature, and I do not think anyone has to fear its being otherwise. Taking up defensive positions is not necessary. At the same time, I do not think a distortion of a balance between MON's civilian and military employees should be a danger right now.

[Kowalska] Minister Kolodziejczyk has admitted in the Sejm that there have occurred cases in the Army of forcing soldiers to perform religious practices. Being famous for your fights for the state's philosophy-of-life neutrality, do you intend to prevent such phenomena from occurring in the future?

[Waniek] These issues are within the powers of another deputy minister and I have no intentions of interfering with his powers. My views on these issues are well known. Field ordinariates are in operation, but I think that availing oneself of their presence should be voluntary. We have received reports of soldiers being forced to take part in religious ceremonies and that should, of course, be viewed negatively.

I would like some guarantees against such cases of coercion to be included in a Charter of Soldier Rights. We plan to prepare such a charter in connection with European and UN human rights conventions. The military has up to now been functioning primarily on the basis of order and discipline. Soldiers' rights have always been regarded as being of the last order of importance. If the MON leadership thinks that these relationships can be changed, that is a very good trend. This applies in particular to soldiers serving in the basic service, for whom human rights in the Army will be of particular value. Thanks to the Army, they will be able to understand what civic rights are all about.

[Kowalska] The issue of your nomination was settled within a matter of hours, which is in contrast to Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, the previous candidate put forward by the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. How did that happen? Were you a less controversial candidate?

[Waniek] They said on television that I was the most controversial candidate of all those proposed to MON, the Foreign Ministry, and the Internal Affairs Ministry. But I think the issue is really about something else. The candidacy of Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, whom I respect and like very much, emerged in the atmosphere of a public conflict between the SLD and the Belweder. It was the same case with Professor Dariusz Rosati, who was

our candidate for the post of finance minister and deputy prime minister. Both of these candidacies were excellent, but they came about at the politically wrong time.

[Kowalska] What does the SLD gain by introducing you into a ministry that is headed by a minister put forward by the president?

[Waniek] One of the advantages is precisely the fact that an SLD representative is included in a "presidential" ministry. That was not so obvious not so long ago. We have been implementing a plan of our Sejm deputies club—gradually, but with obstacles—for the governing coalition to actively participate in the activities of the three ministries, given that the coalition is taking upon itself the responsibility for the ministries' functioning. The situation up to now was abnormal. There was talk of a coalition consisting of two parties, but, actually, it was a trilateral SLD-Polish Peasant Party-Belweder coalition.

[Kowalska] The range of your powers at MON is not too comprehensive, and, most probably, few of the ministry's decisions will be left entirely up to you. But, at the same time, it is you who will have to stick your neck out for the entire ministry in parliament.

[Waniek] I do not think it will be that bad. I can resist attempts to shift the burden of someone else's decisions onto me.

POLITYKA Reports on Walesa-SLD Talks

WS2604122494 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 30 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by Janina Paradowska: "Following President-SLD Battle: Fluctuations of Tension"]

[Text] *Finales are always of the same nature as the battle itself. The president's battle with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]—I am saying that because it was SLD that was really the opponent and not the Sejm as such—was ugly, with the finale being not much prettier.*

Difficult political issues should not be resolved at rallies, whereas Lech Walesa's meeting with the SLD Parliamentary Club was mainly just that, a rally. One must admit, by the way, that both sides felt quite good in each other's company, and they tried to equalize the level of both the questions and the answers.

In any event, the stakes at the meeting were not too high. The presidential idea of dissolving parliament made it possible to make up scenarios based on fantastic stories: "Consider yourselves dissolved," the president could say. "We absolutely do not consider ourselves dissolved," the members of parliament would most probably reply. What next? "Consider yourself recalled, President!" "I absolutely do not consider myself recalled, and I am staying on at the Belweder." At this point, the problem of the way of eviction could emerge—I mean both the eviction from the building on Wiejska Street [Sejm headquarters] and from the Belweder. The problem of eviction has so far not been successfully resolved in Poland, so, one way or another, there will be a deadlock.

The outcome of the exchange of blows at the top of power that went on for several days is not entirely clear. We do know that Minister [presidential aide] Lech Falandysz will have less spare time because he will resume attending sessions of the National Assembly's Constitutional Commission. SLD Sejm deputies are bound to withdraw a draft law intended to restrict presidential powers, even though, for the time being, they are trying to temporize and wait for Lech Walesa to make the first move. If there are supposed to be no changes in the Constitution, let there be no changes whatsoever. Most probably, a draft law on amending the law on the Constitutional Tribunal will fall victim to that—it was submitted on the president's initiative and envisages that the tribunal's verdicts shall be final. Quite unexpectedly, it is going to be Professor Andrzej Zoll, the tribunal's apolitical chairman, who will have to take upon himself the burden produced by the politicians. Zoll has been unsuccessfully calling for a second reading of the law for a long time.

The SLD will not appoint Dariusz Rosati deputy prime minister and finance minister, which was known a long time ago, but it will introduce its ministers into the so-called presidential ministries. Because decisions regarding specific people were made somewhere behind Waldemar Pawlak's back, this will definitely greatly improve the frame of mind of the prime minister and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], and it will also greatly improve the process of building mutual confidence between the distrusting partners.

After the fight, the participants did not look happy. The first round—everybody knows there are more to come—ended in a draw, with a slight advantage for Aleksander Kwasniewski. The president announced he will stir up more conflicts, after which he left for Szczecin with the goal of building the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms wing, which is supposed to be a pillar on the road to his reelection. But, for the moment, the wing is very weak indeed, while the way the president is trying to make efforts to be reelected seems just too unconventional, even for Lech Walesa.

One can, of course, ask: Did we really need all this? If the president was after creating a conviction among a wide audience that the new authorities are also predisposed to political brawls and to taking part in wars at the top, one must admit that he was largely successful in achieving the goal. The SLD took an amazingly easy-going position while going into this battle. I am not quite sure whether the cracks in the SLD's public image—which did emerge, there is no doubt about it—are really worth the posts of three under secretaries of state. I am also not sure whether, even if the PSL manages to score very good results in the self-governmental elections, that could compensate for the view that has been spreading more

and more, that the prime minister just chooses too often not to have a view on important issues. After all, we live in times of having to make decisions—and not the easiest ones, either.

But one must admit that the period of increasing political disorder was utilized by some in an extraordinarily useful way. Take the foreign economic cooperation minister: While not involving himself in ambition-driven fights, he, assisted by his legal experts, searched peacefully for gaps in the legal system, with the goal of establishing quite an interesting holding with a substantial contribution of budget monies. So the minister succeeded in demonstrating to his colleagues completely new prospects and an unconventional way of performing one's duty. Up to now, ministers tended not to involve themselves in looking for gaps in the legal system. Not so long ago, Leszek Balcerowicz even faced the prospect of being brought in front of the State Tribunal for his failure to get rid of some gaps in time, which resulted in an alcohol affair. As can be seen, we are at a completely new stage of building capitalism, and Professor Balcerowicz should start taking lessons from his younger, cutting-edge colleagues.

So, looking at the recent events from a certain historical perspective, one must conclude that the old is fighting the new. In terms of the old, we have definitely preserved our attachment to wars at the top, while the new cannot be described by any clear-cut terms yet, even though the term "interest" is appearing somewhere in the background and the term's associations with the interests of the state are not yet completely clear.

Meanwhile, we have reached an electricity-generating factor of 20, and it looks like power was taken over by the miners guarding conveyor belts in brown coal mines. The war has moved from the top down. It may now turn prove ruthless than the games over who should nominate a minister.

Further Reportage on Nationwide Strike

Solidarity Calls For General Strike

LD2604195594 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1900 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] Let's try again to get through by phone to our reporter Ernest Zorzun in Belchatow:

[Zorzun] I am speaking from Belchatow, bringing the latest news. Solidarity has called a nationwide general strike for 28 April. The national protest action staff have stated that this action is being taken after today's talks with the industry minister and the fruitless wait for the government to implement the trade union's demands. The action will be continuous strike action and is aimed at putting pressure on the government in order to force it to quickly present a timetable for implementing the demands of the national trade unions. Minister Pol was urged (?to do this) during this morning's talks, Marian Krzaklewski stated. We have no other way, Krzaklewski added, at the end of a hastily organized news conference.

[Announcer] Thank you. I remind you that the government is meeting just now to discuss the strike situation.

OPZZ Not To Join in Strike

LD2604172894 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1502 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Olsztyn, 26 April—In a conversation with a PAP journalist on 26 April, Ewa Spychalska, chairwoman of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance], ruled out the possibility of the OPZZ joining in the Solidarity strike action but did not rule out cooperation under conditions that will be determined by the presidium. She announced that if the strike wave did not stop by noon on 27 April, the OPZZ Presidium would make a decision about what the union will do in the prevailing situation.

Spychalska believes that the demands put forward by Solidarity during the strikes are "in general compatible with those put to the government by the OPZZ." She has doubts about the "road chosen by Solidarity." "I cannot imagine the OPZZ choosing a paralysis of the country as its objective," she added, asked by the PAP journalist to comment on the strike action. On Tuesday, Spychalska took part in a precongress meeting with OPZZ members in Olsztyn.

According to Spychalska there are more and more flashpoints between the government and the OPZZ. The greatest controversies are aroused by the government draft labor code and the trade union acts, which, she said, "push the unions into a corner." Speaking about this, she did not rule out the possibility of the OPZZ leaving the coalition.

According to the OPZZ chairwoman, after four years of Solidarity in power, the situation in Poland is "critical," while that union was striving for "confrontation and overthrowing the government," disregarding the results of the last elections.

Pol: Strike 'Politically Motivated'

LD2704100594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0837 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Apr—According to Marek Pol, minister of industry and trade, the miners' strike is politically motivated. The condition for the strike to be discontinued was the annulment of the decision on the transformation of mines into holding companies. This had taken place, but the strikers had put forward further demands, Pol said on Polish Radio Three on Wednesday.

The industry minister stressed that he had decided to annul Decision No. 30 [on setting up holding companies] after talks with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, who shares his opinion that transformations to modernize the

economy are necessary. The minister also hopes that the workforce in the striking mines will come to this conclusion.

Marek Pol said that it was not possible to prepare a schedule for resolving strikers' demands in 48 hours. The fulfilment of the demands from the mining sector by the government would mean that the state is being run by the trade union, and "such a situation is not considered normal anywhere in the world."

The minister blamed the union for causing the deterioration of moods among the miners because the unions passed on incomplete information to the workforce of the mines about the conditions for transforming the industry. According to Pol, information about conditions should reach each miner individually.

Non-Solidarity Unions Suspend Strike

LD2704141094 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1059 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Apr—In a letter on 27 April to Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and Industry Minister Marek Pol, the Trade Union Federation of Brown Coal Mining said that its members are suspending their participation in the strike and are ready for negotiations with the government on demands put forward by the union.

"Because Decision No. 30 has been annulled, the federation strike committee is suspending its participation in the strike and obliging enterprise commissions to withdraw from strike committees in enterprises after internal demands are met. When the strike has been suspended, we are open to negotiations with the government on the union's demands", federation miners said.

Solidarity Leader on Strike

LD2704161494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1545 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Gdansk, 27 Apr—Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski has ruled out the possibility that the national strike called by Solidarity on Tuesday could turn out to be a "damp squib."

"At the moment, 120,000 people are already on strike, and the strategic effect of the strike has been practically achieved," he said today at a news conference in the Gdansk headquarters of Solidarity's National Commission.

"I expect that in the first two days there will be a lot of warning, two-hour actions, and some of the plants will begin a continuous strike. There will certainly be more than 100 plants protected by the Solidarity strike fund," he added.

Government Communique Issued

LD2704210194 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1608 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 27 Apr—Out of a sense of responsibility for the country and the success of the Polish reforms, the Council of Ministers deems it essential to take up a position on the wave of strikes currently being organized. Society must know that the strikes in the brown coal mines constitute a threat to Poland's power supply, and the spread of strike actions can ruin the chances of economic development, a Government Press Bureau communique on 27 April states. [passage omitted]

In the government's assessment, their are no substantive grounds for reaching for the strike weapon. The strikes are continuing in spite of clear assurances that the reform of the brown-coal mining industry depends on an earlier agreement with the trade unions and in spite of the annulment by the industry minister of the instruction concerning changes in this sector of the economy. The response to the decision by the minister of industry and trade was more demands and attempts at diktat. The readiness for talks is being ignored. Such a reaction proves unambiguously that, for the strike organizers, the content itself of the demands and negotiations is of lesser importance. Unrest and tensions themselves are what count.

The leaders of the Solidarity trade union have made a nervous attempt to force decisions by the state's constitutional bodies and to restore a situation guaranteeing Solidarity a privileged position vis-a-vis the other trade unions. To achieve these aims, it is deceiving the working milieux by disseminating untrue reports of mass redundancies being prepared.

The government is open to talks with the trade unions, employer representatives, and local self-government leaders. [passage omitted]

Such talks are already under way. It is Solidarity that has refused to take part in them. [passage omitted]

The organizers of the strike bear responsibility for diminishing chances for development. The effect of their deeds is that we in Poland see, with each passing hour, a disorganization of the economy, a smaller cake to share, and less to satisfy the needs of the population.

These strikes have no legal basis nor any substantive, rational justification. Enterprises have every right to seek compensation from the strike organizers for losses incurred, we read in the communique of the Government Press Office.

The government is taking essential steps to limit the danger to the security of the country and to lessen the extent of economic losses and the inconvenience caused to Polish families by strike actions. Unfortunately,

should restrictions in the production of electricity be protracted, periodic power cuts in homes will become inevitable.

The Council of Ministers expresses its trust that the Polish people will not surrender to the blackmail of strikes. While keeping its open-minded attitude toward substantive negotiations, the government declares that it will decisively oppose any anarchy in economic life and work for the security of the citizens.

Negotiations need an atmosphere of cooperation and not one of threats and irresponsibility. Participation in the strike is like voting for destabilization and for hindering any chance of social demands being implemented. The prime minister has empowered Industry and Trade Minister Marek Pol to hold talks on demands made by different sectors of industry. As far as issues concerning the whole of society are concerned, such a remit has been entrusted to Leszek Miller, minister of labor and social policy.

A meeting of all the trade unions that belong to the Tripartite Commission will take place on 29 April.

According to the prime minister, there is no basis for calling a national strike, states the communique.

Walesa Comments on Miners' Strike

LD2704182894 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1723 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 27 Apr—[passage omitted] The president gave a news conference lasting a dozen minutes or so at Okecie Airport.

To the comment that Solidarity had called a general strike for 28 April and was demanding the withdrawal of the so-called neopopiwek [wage control tax], the president said: "Let's not allow ourselves to be driven mad; I think common sense will win in the end. After all, there is no popiwek for the time being. I have not made a statement on this matter, and I think that everything will turn out well." [passage omitted]

Asked what he would say to the miners, Walesa replied: "I would say that the reforms are very difficult, that in the center of Europe we must change the representatives of the law, but we must respect the law. Imagine that somebody in Poland starts driving on the left-hand side, not obeying the law. Imagine what would happen in Warsaw. It is the same with other rules."

If you were a worker now, would you go on strike? the president was asked. "It would depend on what factory I was in: in one yes, in another no. But I would not overturn the entire law. That would be going a bit too far," he replied.

Would you be able to create a minority government with the Polish Peasant Party, based on the Belweder?

"Based on the Belweder, it depends. If somebody said that only people from the Belweder (were to go) into the government, then no. But if it were a question of being based on the Belweder, which appoints (a government), then I am ablebecause I have a good understanding of circles. Of course, I do not have a spare set of ministers at the Belweder. We are not talking about a political government; we are talking about a government of experts," Walesa replied.

Asked if he would support Grzegorz Kolodko, the Left's candidate for deputy prime minister and finance minister, the president said that he had no reservations up to now, and the candidacy would probably go through. He added that he had no formal proposal on this matter. [passage omitted]

Communique Labeled 'Horrid Document'

LD2704210994 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Excerpt] This is a horrid document, written in the language of totalitarian power on the subject of strikes in the '80's, we were told by Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski, who was commenting on the text of the communique from the Government Press Office regarding the strike situation in Poland.

In a communique published today, the government stressed that strikes in brown coal mines were a threat to the power supply of Poland and that any spreading of the strike action could wreck any chance of economic development. [passage omitted]

Strike 'Nationwide but Not General'

LD2804083794 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 28 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Maciej Jankowski, leader of Solidarity's Mazowsze region, who was guest of the "Sygnaly Dnia" [Signals of the Day] morning program on Polish Radio's First Program, said that today's strike is nationwide but not general because public services are not joining the strike. Maciej Jankowski added that the strike should not interrupt everyday life in towns and cities.

[Begin recording] [Jankowski] I suppose that about 1,000 enterprises will join the strike. In Warsaw alone, all of the big enterprises expressed readiness and are prepared for it. These are: the FSO [small car plant], the Warsaw steelworks, Elemis, the Wola-Rawar arms enterprise, and Ursus [tractor enterprise], as always.

[Unidentified correspondent] Is this a classic strike?.

[Jankowski] Yes, a strike including the halting of production. In tens of enterprises, sirens will be sounded, flags displayed, and rallies organized. All large leading enterprises have stopped because there is no other way. [end recording]

According to Maciej Jankowski, the strike was announced because there was no will on the part of the government to implement solutions put forward by the Solidarity and approved by specialists. [passage omitted]

Solidarity Head on Strikes, Compromise

WS2804094594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Apr 94 pp 1-2

[Interview with Marian Krzaklewski, chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, by Piotr Adamowicz; place and date not given: "We Are Ready for a Compromise"]

[Text] [Adamowicz] Minister Pol has reminded all of us that last fall Solidarity ["S"] declared that it would strive to overthrow the new government by all available legal means.

[Krzaklewski] It was the government that came up with the notion that the current strikes are of a political nature. What the government is saying is false; we have not put forward any political demands. It is possible that the coalition fears that, if it does not manage to act on the compromise, the consequences will be very bad. It is worth recalling that "S" demands the implementation of solutions that were agreed upon a long time ago. The strikes are legal because we are in collective bargaining with the government concerning the following: compensation for increased maintenance costs and nonimplementation of the "Pact on Enterprise."

The new governing elite is arrogant, displaying democratic-hegemonic tendencies. Minister Pol says that he will not yield to any pressure because the government has a definite majority in the parliament that was elected in parliamentary elections. He forgets that the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party were supported by 20 percent of the people. All the same, he speaks of a majority. He is delaying the implementation of the "Pact on Enterprise" because he does not want clear rules of the game with the union, he does not want to have a strong partner. The introduction of the principle of the representatives of the unions would prove that, for most enterprises, the representative union is "S" and not the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement. The government is violating the law; it does not want to admit that the union is right because such an admission would be an "S" success, which is not a desirable thing for the government. The coalition accepted the doctrine of a fight with the union; it says "Let them bleed until the end." I know about direct pressure by the prime minister and the ministers, who insisted that such and not other information on the union's activities and on the strikes be broadcast on television and radio. A few days ago, an interview with me was not aired on the first program of the Polish Radio Network.

[Adamowicz] It seemed that you were understood by Prime Minister Pawlak.

[Krzaklewski] I am wondering whether Prime Minister Pawlak is playing a game or if he is unable to implement certain solutions because of the opposition of the ministers and the SLD. When we are talking, the prime minister declares understanding, he states that he accepts our demands. Experts' committees work on the schedule of the implementation of the demands. It must only be approved by the government, which delays things. However, I do not speak with the prime minister in a cafe, but in the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Then we sign a joint communique. Therefore, I am wondering whether the prime minister is playing a game or the SLD and the ministers are forcing him to give up his promises. This would mean that his position is weak.

A day before the strike at Belchatow, I spoke with the prime minister. I said that, if the government submitted ways of resolving the demands, the strike might be expected to be suspended at the rally. Then the prime minister signed a very general letter, which was hooted.

[Adamowicz] Do you predict a black scenario?

[Krzaklewski] We are ready for a compromise! We are waiting for the reply until 2000 on Thursday [28 April]. The Council of Ministers is convening; let them say what the scenario of our further demands will be like. The government cannot say that we are placing it on the wall! It has known our demands since November. "S" has displayed its ability to reach a compromise by increasing coal supplies to the power plant. When the Council of Ministers gives a specific answer on the schedule, a mixed government-union commission may convene that will work out the details and the demands of the branches.

[Adamowicz] However, a compromise requires both sides to make concessions.

[Krzaklewski] So far, the government has not proved that the implementation of some demands is impossible because of the economic capabilities of the state. If it proves this, we will accept it. We can speak about deferring the implementation of some of the demands. However, we will not give up the priorities: curbing the decrease in families' incomes—that is, lowering the energy prices, introducing a profamily tax system, and abandoning the new popiwek [tax on excessive wage increases]. We will still demand immediate implementation of the "Pact on Enterprise" and the giving of ownership rights to citizens. Because the government is speaking about a strong coalition, because the new popiwek law was adopted within a half-hour, it may take the coalition 48 hours to adopt the "Pact," which was prepared a long time ago.

[Adamowicz] In the meantime, the new popiwek law has gone to the senate.

[Krzaklewski] If the senate adopts this law, it will limit the room for compromise. "S" will turn to the Constitutional Tribunal because the law will be violated. The law cannot be retroactive; the unions were not consulted on the bill; it is also contrary to Article 68 of the Constitution, which pertains to the relationship between the wage level and the quantity and quality of work, where the principles of social justice should be taken into account. We will also ask the president not to sign this law. The

president seems to be seeking closer relations with the union. Therefore, he will have a chance to show his attitude toward the problems of employees and "S."

[Adamowicz] Unless the government submits the schedule, "S" threatens a general strike. Opinion polls suggest that the popular acceptance of strikes is poor. Even the greatest radicals, such as Maciej Jankowski, stated two weeks ago that "there is no atmosphere for strikes."

[Krzaklewski] A general strike is possible when the authorities start shooting at people. It will be a strike of the nationwide union organization. We conducted referendums in several thousand enterprises, and our action is legal. The active strike will be joined by the enterprises of the metallurgical, arms, and cement-and-lime industry, as well as mines and railways. I am not saying that the action will be unlimited because, if the government does not submit a clear schedule of the implementation of our demands, it will mean that it is a fight for months or even years.

Nationwide Solidarity Strike Begins

LD2804081394 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0700 GMT 28 Apr 94

[Text] Following a decision by the Solidarity national strike headquarters, the union has today started a nationwide strike. The Wielkopolska region will not join the strike. The central-eastern region wants to join the strike after 4 May.

Spokesman Cited on Possible Visit by Ex-King

AU2604162094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Responding to a question from one of our correspondents on King Mihai's intention to visit Romania during the Easter holidays, the spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that a decision will be made soon if the contacts currently taking place confirm the private nature of that visit, including the king's relations with Romanian authorities, reports our correspondent Doina Saiciuc.

Paper Publishes Interview With Ex-King

AU2604163194 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 19 Apr 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with ex-King Mihai I by Liviu Valenas in Versoix, Switzerland; date not given: "I Hope People Will Not Lose Their Courage"; broadcast on Deutsche Welle on 6 April]

[Excerpts] [Valenas] Sire, three years ago you granted an interview to our radio station, Deutsche Welle, and here we are again after three years, resuming the discussion that we interrupted then in Paris. Now we are in Versoix, Switzerland, the place of your residence in exile, if I may say so. I would first like you to talk about the award granted last year by the Yad Vashem organization to your mother, Queen Mother Elena.

[Mihai I] It was a great pleasure for me that they did that, and I interpreted this move as a reparation of a big injustice; namely that not one single word was said about the Jewish people in Romania and those deported in Dniester, and now, luckily, in the past three years, all kinds of research has been done and memoirs and documents have been consulted to reestablish the truth. Finally, this year, this organization accepted the fact that my mother's righteousness should be recognized. On her behalf, I received a medal and a document, in which everything she did for the Jews in Romania was recognized. [passage omitted]

[Valenas] Sire, how would you characterize the current Romanian Army?

[Mihai I] In the past three years, I have realized that the Army has regained its so-called independence from the political vicissitude of the past years. The army is at the disposal of the country and is ready to commit itself for the security of the country. All attempts to take away its fundamental role could only provoke a crisis within the army. The Army is there to serve the Romanian people and our homeland, not the policies of others. All officers and soldiers know what the Army means and what our traditions are. However, just like other armies throughout the world, attempts are made to politicize an army, remove it from its own duty toward the country, and provoke qualms.

[Valenas] How do you explain that there are still sympathetic feelings toward you among the Romanian officers?

[Mihai I] Whether I completed my military training in Romania or whether I was an officer in the Romanian Army still plays a role in this respect, and I do not know why because so many years have elapsed. I have often said there is a soft spot in my heart for the Romanian Army. Considering that I went went through military training in our country, I feel very close to our Army and, as a matter of fact, I believe the Army should return to its old traditions.

[Valenas] Do you believe it is appropriate that at the helm of our Army there should be a civilian who used to work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, about whom, as a matter of fact, the Romanian press published conclusive data that he used to be an employee with the rank of colonel in the former Foreign Information Directorate of the Securitate?

[Mihai I] Again, here is a case in which all kind of things are said, but in our country the minister of war [as published] has always been a military person. To what extent his name is appreciated in Europe or in the West, or whether he is a civilian or an army person, is their business. Our business is to preserve our tradition as it has always been. I do not think that such a thing would have been easily accepted in our army. [passage omitted]

[Valenas] Sire, how would you assess the current situation in Romania from a social, political, and maybe even moral point of view?

[Mihai I] As far as I know, there are two moral issues: the people's morale is very low, as is morality. The finances are still state-owned, the economy is destroyed, and people do not have any money. It is a very difficult situation. I cannot tell you much more than that. I can only say that the situation is very difficult. [passage omitted]

[Valenas] Sire, at the end of our interview, what would you recommend to the Romanian people?

[Mihai I] For the immediate future, I hope the people will not lose their courage and look a little forward, and not just to everyday difficulties, which are very big indeed. However, people should not lose their belief in God and their hope in the future.

Visit by Russian Intelligence Chief Reported

AU2704200594 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 23 Apr 94 p 8

[Report by Radu Tudor and Daniel Capatos: "Yevgeniy Primakov, Head of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service, Visited Bucharest Yesterday"]

[Text] At the invitation of Virgil Magureanu, SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] director, Yevgeniy Primakov, chief of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service

[SVR], made a 24-hour visit to Romania on 22 April 1994. The distinguished Russian guest did not meet with President Ion Iliescu.

Primakov's visit again finds Magureanu again in a state that has had precedence: The head of the Romanian counterintelligence service holds discussions—in an unexplainable way—not with his counterpart in the Russian Federation but with the head of the Intelligence Service in Moscow.

Among the issues discussed, one can note Russia's involvement in the conflict in Bosnia and its repercussions on Romania. Other issues discussed by Primakov and Magureanu were terrorism, drug smuggling, and a relative "nonaggression treaty" between the SRI and the SVR.

The Military Air and Naval Attache of the Russian Federation in Bucharest, Colonel Yevgeniy Smirnov, Declares That He Did Not See Yevgeniy Primakov Yesterday

Confidential sources reported that on 22 April the lack of Primakov-Talpes and Primakov-Iliescu meetings raised certain already existing problems to the level of diplomatic difficulties. Yevgeniy Primakov's visit was in response to the visit recently paid by Virgil Magureanu to Moscow. Thus, it is certain that as a result of this visit there will be more evident disputes between Ion Iliescu and Virgil Magureanu.

Last night we contacted Colonel Yevgeniy Smirnov, air and naval military attache of the Russian Federation to Bucharest, who said that he personally had not seen the SVR chief yesterday and that he represents the Russian defense minister and not Moscow's civil intelligence service.

Yesterday, the only flight from Moscow that arrived at Otopeni Airport was the regular Aeroflot flight, which landed at 0930 and then took off at 1150. No other special plane arrived from Moscow yesterday.

AFP Promptly Reports That For the First Time Since Ceausescu's Fall, a Head of the Russian Secret Services Visits Romania.

Only two hours after the national news agency ROMPRES announced that the head of Russia's Foreign Intelligence Service Yevgeniy Primakov paid a flash visit to Romania, AFP took the piece of news and disseminated it together with its normal news items.

The news item broadcast by AFP mentions that Yevgeniy Primakov's visit was made at the invitation of SRI Director Virgil Magureanu and that this is the first such visit since Ceausescu's fall in December 1989.

"The talks focused on the issue of fighting terrorism and organized crime" read the text of the official release, as is usually the practice in case of such meetings.

Serbian Withdrawal From Gorazde Confirmed

LD2604223794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2229 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said on Tuesday evening that Bosnian Serb forces have withdrawn their heavy weapons to outside a 20km zone from the inner core of Gorazde, as provided for under the NATO ultimatum, and that there is no longer a threat of air strikes against their positions. Gorazde is a Moslem enclave in the east of civil war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina where Serb and Moslem forces clashed heavily for almost a month. The NATO Council threatened it would bomb Bosnian Serb positions unless they withdrew their heavy weapons to a distance of 20km from the center of Gorazde by 00:01 GMT Wednesday.

The UNPROFOR representatives in Sarajevo declined to specify if all Serb heavy weapons had been withdrawn from the area, but said that there was no longer a threat of air strikes. Confirming this, U.N. Spokesman Eric Chaperon said that the U.N. force commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Michael Rose was going to bed. Chaperon also said that Moslems had fired at an UNPROFOR patrol which was checking the Serb positions in the vicinity of Gorazde. There were no casualties, he said, but a protest has been sent to the Moslem authorities.

NATO 'Satisfied' With Pullback

AU2704154194 Paris AFP in English 1526 GMT 27 Apr 94

[By Graham Brown]

[Text] Brussels, April 27 (AFP)—NATO said Wednesday it was satisfied with the Bosnian Serb withdrawal from Gorazde, but remained poised to use its bombs in defence of the town and another five "safe areas" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A North Atlantic Treaty Organisation spokesman said here that NATO and UN forces were conducting a "robust reconnaissance" in the exclusion zone around Gorazde to check for any remaining Bosnian Serb heavy weapons there. "If any (heavy weapons) are discovered, they must be removed immediately or they will be subject to air strikes," he warned.

Earlier, NATO announced that the Bosnian Serbs had generally complied with NATO's ultimatum that they withdraw all their heavy weapons from a 20-kilometre (12.5 mile) radius around Gorazde by 0001 GMT Wednesday.

The chairman of NATO's military committee, British Field-Marshall Sir Richard Vincent, said: "There are no major incidents to report." He told a press conference at NATO headquarters here: "The freedom of movement for UN personnel (into Gorazde) has for the most part been restored." But, speaking after a meeting of NATO's military committee, Vincent reiterated the alliance's determination to bomb the Bosnian Serbs if they attacked Gorazde or any other UN-declared "safe areas" in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A parallel meeting of the North Atlantic Council comprising ambassadors from NATO's 16 members called on all sides to avoid all "provocative actions" and warned the Bosnian Serbs against any hostile actions directed at UN personnel. But Vincent acknowledged that NATO had no authority to stop the Bosnian Serbs using the weapons withdrawn from Gorazde in attacks on other Bosnian Moslem positions not defined as "safe areas".

Military strategists have warned that the Bosnian Serbs could turn their artillery next on Moslem and Croat positions near the narrow "Brcko corridor" in northern Bosnia linking Serbia with its conquests in western Bosnia. Vincent acknowledged the danger of such a redeployment. "We need to keep track of it and we shall do so," he said. But the field-marshal added: "It is not NATO's business to take international law unto itself and go stamping around in other people's territory."

NATO could do nothing outside the "safe areas" to oppose Bosnian Serb assaults unless the UN Security Council expanded its air strike mandate, Vincent said. The alliance said earlier that its air strike threats aimed at underpinning current efforts by the United States, Russia, the European Union and the United Nations to bring the combatants in Bosnia back to the negotiation table. "The (North Atlantic) Council welcomed in particular the constructive engagement of Russia in the search for a negotiated settlement," the spokesman said.

NATO: Exclusion Zone Searched

AU2704124394 Paris AFP in English 1224 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 27 (AFP)—NATO and United Nations forces are combing the exclusion zone around the Bosnian town of Gorazde for any remaining Bosnian Serb heavy weapons, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation said here Wednesday. A NATO spokesman said a "robust" reconnaisance was still in progress and warned: "If any (heavy weapons) are discovered, they must be removed immediately or they will be subject to air strikes." He also reiterated NATO's determination to bomb the Bosnian Serbs if they attacked Gorazde or any other UN-declared "safe areas" in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The spokesman was speaking after a meeting of the North Atlantic Council, comprising the ambassadors from NATO's 16 member countries. "The council was encouraged by signs that its objectives of lifting the strangulation of Gorazde has been achieved," he said.

Current information indicated that the Bosnian Serbs had generally complied with NATO's ultimatum that they withdraw all their heavy weapons from a 20-kilometre (12.5 mile) radius around Goradze by 0001 GMT Wednesday. "This development gives hope for the

future. Nonetheless the alliance emphasises that the ultimatum remains in force and that it will continue to monitor the situation with the utmost vigilance," the spokesman said.

NATO called on all sides to avoid all "provocative actions" and warned the Bosnian Serbs against any hostile actions against UN personnel. It also warned that freedom of movement should be unimpeded at Gorazde and at the other UN-declared "safe areas" covered by NATO's air-strike umbrella—Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Tuzla, Bihac and Zepa. "The council reiterated its determination to conduct air strikes in coordination with UNPROFOR (UN Protection Force) if Gorazde and other safe areas in Bosnia are attacked or exclusion zones violated," the spokesman said. He stressed that NATO's air strike threats were intended to underpin current efforts by the United States, Russia, the European Union and the United Nations to bring the combatants in Bosnia back to the negotiation table. "The council welcomed in particular the constructive engagement of Russia in the search for a negotiated settlement," the spokesman said.

Silajdzic: Serbs Still in Gorazde

LD2704155294 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1452 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Erfurt/Sarajevo (DDP/ADN) - Serb infantry is still within a three-kilometer radius of the Bosnian enclave of Gorazde. This was stated by Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in a telephone interview with Thursday's edition of the THUERINGER ALLGEMEINE, which is based in Erfurt. Silajdzic thus rejected UN statements that the Serb troops had largely withdrawn from the town. Silajdzic called upon NATO to "take its own ultimatum seriously." The UN should make use of its possibilities for calling air strikes. The Serbs had withdrawn heavy artillery from the 20 km radius around Gorazde, as asked. However, now the same situation was developing as after the ultimatum in Sarajevo, Silajdzic said. "If the movement of these weapons is not stopped, in five to ten days time we will have the same situation in northern Bosnia as we have in Gorazde," the Bosnian prime minister warned. The places around the Posavina area in Bosnia or the towns of Brcko, Maglaj and Konjic were in particular jeopardy.

UN Opposes Moving Muslims From Gorazde

AU2704172094 Paris AFP in English 1657 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 27 (AFP)—The United Nations said Wednesday [27 April] it was against moving Gorazde residents out of the Moslem enclave, which has been overrun by Serb troops. "Our view is that the refugee population of Gorazde should be allowed to return to their villages" in the pocket, said the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman in Sarajevo, Peter Kessler. "For the moment there has been no official suggestion of a forced displacement of population," he said. UN Protection Force spokesman Eric Chaperon said the idea of a movement of population was an "unfounded rumour."

Earlier several humanitarian sources said a movement of up to 20,000 refugees in the Gorazde pocket was being discussed.

"We know that discussions are under way to open up a passage through Serb-controlled territory for refugees from Gorazde," one said on condition of anonymity. "They are talking about up to 20,000 people, crossing the mountains on foot, within the next two weeks," the source said.

UN officials say two-thirds of the Gorazde enclave's territory is occupied by Bosnian Serb troops who have imposed a stranglehold after a fierce offensive that began in late March. The town of Gorazde itself swelled with Moslem refugees. Serb forces pulled heavy weapons outside an exclusion zone Wednesday under threat of NATO air strikes, and the fighting has largely subsided. But Kessler said the enclave's civilian population was going to need "a permanent life support system" as the Serbs appear bent on making the region unlivable for the Moslems. He said one example of this was the Serbs' destruction of Gorazde's water processing plant as they pulled out of the town over the weekend. Humanitarian sources said that Serb psychological pressure on the Moslem population was such that many would accept an opportunity to leave.

A similar idea was floated last April at Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia after Serb forces succeeded in eliminating the enclave's defences, but local authorities opposed the move, saying it would aid the Serb campaign of "ethnic cleansing."

The Bosnian government has consistently opposed forced movements of population.

UN Warns Against Muslim 'Ghetto' in Gorazde

AU2704125594 Paris AFP in English 1222 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 27 (AFP)—The eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde could become a Moslem ghetto as two thirds of its territory is occupied by Bosnian Serb troops who have imposed a stranglehold on the region, UN officias said. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) cannot condone the creation of another Moslem ghetto in eastern Bosnia like Srebrenica," UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said. "That is unacceptable, and that is the issue we should be looking carefully at." He said the enclave's civilian population of about 50,000 is going to need "a permanent life support system" as the Serbs appear bent on making the region unlivable for the Moslems. He said one example of the Serb resolve was their destruction of the town's water processing plant during three-weeks of shelling that only stopped after NATO threatened airstrikes.

Several relief officials here speaking on condition of anonymity said plans were "actively" underway for the possible evacuation of 20,000 people from the enclave. Meanwhile, Kessler said that UN efforts to provide assistance to the town residents have been hampered by Serb delaying tactics.

Eric Chaperon, the UN Protection Force spokesman, said that the the Serbs on Tuesday prevented a UN convoy carrying building material from reaching the town. Kessler said the convoy should reach Gorazde Thursday adding that "the delays imposed by the Serbs are a violation of freedom of movement." He said that in order to survive, the enclave's residents would need "at least one convoy a day" and that refugees must be allowed to return to their homes.

Evacuated Serbs Report Muslim Atrocities

LD2804110494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1016 GMT 28 Apr 94

[Text] Zvornik, April 28 (TANJUG)—Ill and wounded Serbs who were evacuated from Gorazde in two U.N. helicopters on Wednesday say that the remaining Serb population is exposed to unheard of Muslim terror and atrocities. Eight sick and nine wounded Serbs were airlifted to the village of Sokolac, northeast of Sarajevo within the Bosnian Serb Republic (RS).

The Gorazde Muslim authorities abused the town's status of a U.N. safe area and before the very eyes of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) killed, tortured and harrassed in various ways the remaining several hundred of Gorazde's 12,000 pre-war Serb inhabitants. The Muslims even desecrated the Serb cemetery and pulled down the 700-year-old St. George church. 400 Serbs remain trapped in the part of the town controlled by Ferid Buljubasic, one of the biggest Muslim fundamentalists in Bosnia. That part of Gorazde also contains camps for Serbs, such as the one in the suburb of Vinarici, and 'Stamparija' and 'Cementara' in Vitkovici, close to the town, where hundreds of Serb men and women were tortured and killed.

The truth about Muslim atrocities against the Serbs began to come out only after the Bosnian Serb army neared Gorazde in a counterattack to the Muslim offensive launched from this town—a U.N.-designated safe area which should have been demilitarized last spring. Over the past few days the French media cited several UNPROFOR members who admitted that the number of wounded in the battle for Gorazde was inflated at least threefold by the Sarajevo Muslim propaganda machinery. This was revealed only after the evacuation of the wounded from Gorazde. Following the collapse of the Muslim offensive, which was carried out before the very eyes of the U.N. peacekeepers, the Muslim authorities planted dead and butchered Serbs and presented them to the foreign media as the victims of 'Serb shelling and snipers.'

UN: Humanitarian Groups 'Overstated' Victims

AU2604145794 Paris AFP in English 1422 GMT 26 Apr 94

[By Bernard Estrade]

[Text] Sarajevo, April 26 (AFP)—Humanitarian organisations overstated the number of victims caused by Bosnian Serb shelling of the Moslem enclave of Gorazde, UN and aid groups said here Tuesday. The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] had earlier spoken of 715 killed and 1,970 wounded. Of these, 600 were said to be seriously hurt and required immediate evacuation. But UN and humanitarian organisation officials here said the toll should probably be divided by three. The actual number of those killed in the three-week Serb offensive against the eastern Bosnian enclave was at most 250 and the number of those wounded 600 to 700, they said.

Monday evening, some 200 seriously wounded patients had been helicoptered out of the Gorazde hospital which was now "empty", officials said. UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler acknowledged on Tuesday that casualty figures earlier given should be "scaled down" and "are perhaps not all serious." Obviously embarrassed, he said that it was impossible for the time being to say by how much figures had been exaggerated. "We are in a war situation and in a war everybody uses propaganda," he said. "All the figures we gave were based on reports from our representatives in the field," a UNHCR official, who wished to remain anonymous, said. "What we did not know, and what they did not tell us, was that information given originated with Bosnian authorities in Gorazde and that they had not checked it themselves," he added.

The UNHCR team and that of Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders) were in shelters and had little opportunity to move around town, notably during the last week. "It was the same for UN military observers," according to an officer at the headquarters of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) here. The first doubts regarding the reported number of casualties emerged on Sunday when UN troops first arrived in the town after NATO had threatened to bomb Bosnian Serbs if they did not stop their bombardment and withdraw from around the city.

Those evacuated, according to officials here, have been mainly soldiers. Monday evening, a senior UNPROFOR officer was busy asking: "Where are the wounded? We're looking for them..."

Serb Spokesman on Casualty Count

LD2704001594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2240 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (TANJUG)—Jovan Zametica, spokesman of Bosnian Serb Republic (R.S.) President Radovan Karadzic, described Tuesday [26 April] as another in a series of propaganda fabrications of the Bosnian Moslems the story about the alleged thousands

of wounded and hundreds of killed in Gorazde. Gorazde is a Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia and the site of almost a month of heavy fighting of the Moslem and Serb forces. After ceasefire accord was reached, evacuation of the wounded with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] helicopters ensued on Sunday. Zametica's statement, sent to TANJUG, says that "at the height of the Gorazde hysteria, it was claimed that there were 2,000 Muslims wounded and 700 dead. "However, U.N. medical evacuation helicopters have to date brought out only 170 persons, many of whom have been patients for months and could not have been the casualties of the recent fighting," says Zametica and warns that on Tuesday, "two evacuation helicopters returned empty".

"The pattern is very clear for those who want to see it: the Muslims manufacture or exaggerate a crisis, international organizations on the ground either say nothing or openly take the Muslim side, and the world media uncritically swallow everything," says he. Zametica claims that "a high-ranking UNPROFOR official confirmed to us that international humanitarian organizations had deliberately engaged in a campaign of lies and disinformation concerning the extent of casualties in Gorazde." In conclusion, Zametica recalls the "case with the 'breadline massacre' which was staged by the Muslims, but the Serbs got the sanctions (i.e. F.R. Yugoslavia). With the market place massacre, again staged by the Muslims, but the Serbs got the ultimatum. And now with Gorazde, with one ultimatum on top of another." He adds that "the world diplomats and decision-makers should ask themselves whether they can allow their policies to be so easily dictated by the world media which in turn report lie after lie after lie."

A French television Channel One reporter in Bosnia admitted Tuesday that the numbers about hundreds of killed and wounded Moslems in Gorazde were "blown-up" by the Moslem sources, different humanitarian organizations and Western media. The answer to the question where have several hundred wounded and killed Moslems in Gorazde disappeared could not be supplied, as the TF-1 reporter said, by either UNPROFOR or representatives of humanitarian organizations.

Rose Remarks on Bosnian Army Clarified

AU2804100494 Paris AFP in English 0931 GMT 28 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 28 (AFP)—UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] chief General Michael Rose was only "theorising" when he appeared to accuse Bosnian defences in Gorazde of collapsing too early and wanting to drag the United Nations into a war, a spokesman said Thursday. Rose was talking "soldier to soldier" in a private conversation, held during a visit to the town Wednesday, that "should never have been released," UNPROFOR spokesman Eric Chaperon said. The UN commander had been discussing theories for the Bosnian collapse, and the view expressed was only one of several possibilities raised, the spokesman said. He stressed that the remarks did not represent the UNPROFOR position on the issue. Rose intended to explain his position at greater length later Thursday, Chaperon said.

A video tape presenting the conversation was broadcast on BBC television late Wednesday. Chaperon said he did not know how the tape came to be passed to the BBC and broadcast. In the tape, Rose said that Bosnian Government forces "think we should be fighting the war for them... they basically turned and ran and left us to try and pick up the bits."

UNPROFOR Sarajevo sector commander General Andre Soubirou meanwhile told reporters Wednesday that he had found the collapse of Bosnian defence lines "difficult to explain," and said that they "could have done better."

Serbs, who attacked Gorazde at the end of March, had withdrawn their heavy weapons outside a 20-kilometre (12-mile) exclusion zone around the town by late Wednesday, the UN peacekeeping force said. NATO has given the Serbs an ultimatum to lift their siege of the town or face aerial bombardment of their positions.

Rose Met by Protesters

LD2704212594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Excerpt] As suddenly as he had arrived in Gorazde, General Michael Rose, UN commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, left the town. During his stay, Gen. Rose had a very brief meeting with Ferid Buljubasic, commander of the Bosnian Army's eastern Bosnian operational zone in Gorazde. After being told by the Gorazde commander that UN forces have not yet fulfilled their duty regarding the setting up of a demarcation zone 3 km from the town center, Gen. Rose briefly said this was not right and cut short the conversation. After this, Gen. Rose visited the almost destroyed hospital in Gorazde and the UN members in the town.

During Gen. Rose's stay in Gorazde, people from the nearby villages started gathering outside the UN headquarters. This protest meeting is still under way, and over 2,000 residents of Kazagici, Zupcici, Bare, Ugarak, Kokino Selo, [words indistinct] are demanding to return to their homes as soon as possible—the homes they left at the height of the chetnik offensive on Gorazde. This protest meeting—these people here—are yet another of many proofs that the chetniks have not withdrawn 3 km from the town center, because that is where the aforementioned villages are situated. [passage omitted]

Butrus-Ghali's Warning on Air Strikes Noted

AU2604180794 Paris AFP in English 1750 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] United Nations, April 26 (AFP)—The United Nations will not hesitate in calling air strikes if Bosnian

Serbs do not remove all heavy artillery within 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) of Gorazde, U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said Tuesday in Barbados. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has threatened to bomb Serb positions if the equipment is not withdrawn from around the Moslem enclave by 0001 GMT Wednesday. "If they don't withdraw, then we will use air strikes against them without any hesitation," he said in a press conference in Barbados broadcast at the United Nations.

NATO and the United Nations have several times threatened air raids to protect Bosnian Moslems in UN-declared safe areas but never actually carried them out except for two strikes two weeks ago to protect UN peacekeepers.

"I am hoping that the Serbs will comply with the different resolutions which have been adopted by the UN and that they will leave Gorazde and that we will not be compelled to use air strikes," he said.

UN forces in the former Yugoslavia have said that the heavy weapons are being withdrawn as the deadline approaches.

The secretary general has been in the Caribbean island of Barbados since the weekend to open a world conference for sustainable development for small states.

UN Suspends All Humanitarian Aid Convoys

AU2604171494 Paris AFP in English 1702 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, April 26 (AFP)—The United Nations suspended Tuesday all aid convoys inside Bosnia-Herzegovina, a spokesman said here. Manoel de Almeida, a spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said the convoys had been suspended on security grounds. Serb forces face a 0001 GMT deadline to pull their heavy weapons away from Gorazde or face NATO air strikes. All active convoys in the war-torn former Yugoslav republic returned to their bases by mid-afternoon Tuesday in line with the directive, which the spokesman described as a "completely normal procedure."

De Almeida said an aid convoy which left Belgrade Tuesday morning for the battered eastern Bosnian enclave of Goradze—the third to set out for the town—returned to the Serbian capital later in the day after being blocked by Serbian forces at the border. An earlier convoy from Belgrade which had been blocked by Serb forces arrived Tuesday morning in Gorazde, said the UNHCR's spokesman in Serbia, Lyndall Sachs. The first convoy to reach Gorazde after Bosnian Serb forces eased a three-week siege of the town arrived there Sunday.

Rose Accused of Violating Flight Agreement

LD2704223294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2054 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Zvornik, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—General Manojlo Milovanovic, the chief of the general staff of the republic of Srpska army, told TANJUG's correspondent this evening that General Michael Rose, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, had violated the Belgrade agreement in the most blatant way. The UNPROFOR abused the agreed procedure regarding flights to Gorazde and sent to this enclave four helicopters that did not land in Sokolac. At the same time, taking advantage of the permission obtained from the Serb side for two helicopters that were checked in Sokolac, another four helicopters with unidentified cargo took off for Gorazde in their radar shadow using the same corridor. [passage omitted]

At 1000 today, Gen. Milovanovic was told over the telephone that the UNPROFOR did not want a check in Sokolac on its way to Gorazde. The chief of the general staff of the republic of Srpska army disputed this, stressing that it would be a serious departure from the negotiated agreement. At about 1230, General Rose announced his departure for Gorazde, on condition that the helicopter did not stop in Sokolac. However, UNPROFOR's (?helicopter) squadron commander arrived in Sokolac with a Serbian inspection team to allegedly clarify the disagreement. When the Serbian side rejected the squadron commander's explanation he agreed to send two helicopters to be checked in Sokolac.

Taking advantage of the permission granted by the Serbian side to allow the two helicopters through, four other helicopters took off for Gorazde in their [radar] shadow using the same corridor and time slot, bypassing Sokolac. The same happened on their way back.

Army: Serbs Reinforcing Positions Near Sarajevo

AU2704110594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] According to the [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] 1st Corps Information Service, the aggressor has stepped up activities recently regarding movements and regrouping of men and weapons around Sarajevo. The chetniks have taken the artillery that was under UN control and positioned it in Vranjes, on Mt. Trebevic, and in Grbavica. Several explosions have been heard in (Demino Brdo) [words indistinct] at Hrasno Hill, Dobrinja Five, the Zeljo soccer stadium in Grbavica, the ministry of internal affairs school in Vrace, and [word indistinct]. The enemy is continuing to reinforce his positions and carry out engineering work. All these activities are accompanied every day by sporadic and provocative small arms fire aimed at the defense lines of our city.

Serbs Continue Reinforcing Positions in Brcko

AU2804094694

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 28 April carries in its regular 10-minute newscast three reports on the current situation on the fronts in the republic.

The Brcko correspondent Hamid Deronjic reports that "last night, at 1800 the chetniks launched a fierce tank and infantry attack on the region of Boderiste which lasted until 2200. The destructive tank and artillery fire was supported by fierce antiaircraft guns and small arms' fire. Our reconnaissance units' reports abound with information on the influx of fresh Serbian reinforcements on the Brcko front. The chetniks are placing artillery in almost all strongholds around the free Brcko territory, while the enemy manpower is concentrating in front of the positions of the 100th Motorized and 100th Infantry Brigades in the areas of Vranovaca and Boderiste. At the same time, the chetniks are reinforcing their positions around Djukici and Boderiste with armored-mechanized hardware. Such elaborate preparations for the continuation of the chetnik offensive, whose first phase lasted a full 14 days, imply that the future chetnik attacks on the free Brcko territory will be fierce. However, it seems that not all Serbs in Brcko are ready to continue the war against their former fellow citizens of Muslim and Croatian nationality. Namely, this morning, at around 0800, the Serbian Consultative Council clearly and decisively rejected the criminal policy of the Serbian Democratic Party."

Mirza Sadikovic reports on the situation in the Bihac area and says that "the joint attacks of Karadzic's fascists and Abdic's rebel paramilitary forces continued overnight and this morning on the free part of the Bihac commune. Indiscriminately and at various times, the chetniks targeted the defense positions on the Buzim, Bosanska Krupa, and [name indistinct] part of the front. They continued using antiaircraft weaponry on the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau [words indistinct]. There is no peace on demarcation lines with Abdic's paramilitary forces. Provocations are registered continuously along all the defense lines."

Correspondent Izudin Durakovic reports from Gracanica and says that "in the early morning hours, the chetniks began their attacks on the defense lines in the theater of operations of the 109th Doboj and 111th Gracanica Brigades. Using weapons of all calibers from the well-known chetnik strongholds—Sjenina, Paleznica, Skipovac, Rajcevac, and Kostajnica—the chetniks fired the greatest number of shells at Obric, Vukovac, and (?Banjik). This shelling is just preparation for the [words indistinct] enemy infantry attacks [words indistinct]. Since the enemy is not choosing his targets and shells are landing on the town of Gracanica, a general alarm has been in effect since 0800 this morning. All the attacks over the past few weeks imply that the chetniks have drawn up new borders and that this explains the relentless attacks on the Doboj-Klokotnica, Sjenina-Obric, and (?Tanjik)-Hukovac routes."

Muslim Attack Before UNPROFOR's 'Very Eyes'

LD2704200394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 27 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bratunac, April 27 (TANJUG)—Moslems on Wednesday opened fire from anti-aircraft machineguns, infantry weapons and snipers on Serb parts of Sarajevo before the very eyes of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the Bosnian Serb Army said in a statement. The targets of artillery and infantry fire on Wednesday were also Serb villages and Army positions in the areas of Konjic south of Sarajevo, Srbobran (formerly Donji Vakuf), Olovo and Kladanj in central Bosnia, Orasje, Doboj, Gradacac, Brcko, Teslic and Mount Vlasic in northern Bosnia, Mount Majevica in north-eastern Bosnia and Bihac in western Bosnia, the statement said.

The Bosnian Serb Army on Wednesday neutralized a Moslem terrorist group in the area of Bihac, it added. Moslem attacks on the almost entire territory of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina continues at a time when the Serb side is proposing a general ceasefire in the war-ravaged former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement said.

In the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, the Serb and Moslem sides exchanged prisoners, civilians and the bodies of killed fighters in the vicinity of Bihac. The exchange was carried out on an "all-for-all" principle and in the presence of UNPROFOR monitors, the Bosnian Serb Army said. The Moslem side handed over four prisoners, 12 civilians and six bodies of killed soldiers and the Serb side four prisoners, nine civilians and eight bodies of killed fighters, the statement said.

Army Breaks Through Serbian Lines Near Travnik

AU2804124394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 28 Apr 94

[7th Corps Information Service report]

[Text] After the days-long futile attempts of Karadzic's army to capture our defense lines on the Vlasic plateau, a part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina 7th Corps elite units, in a strong counteroffensive, this morning managed to break through the Chetnik lines and capture the wider area of Mt. Neokrnje located in the triangle between the Travnik, Teslic, and Skender Vakuf communes.

Our defenders' action has significantly expanded the free territory on the Vlasic plateau. Dozens of Chetniks have been killed and we have captured a nice collection of

material and technical equipment [words indistinct]—a 105-mm howitzer, a Praga antiaircraft weapon, a SAM-110 vehicle, 120-mm mortar, a antiaircraft machine gun mounted on a tractor, (?several pieces) of small caliber weaponry, and a substantial quantity of ammunition and military equipment. As we file this report, the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 7th Corps have captured the mountain resort on Mt. Neokrnje which the Chetniks used as quarters for manpower and hardware during battles.

Serb Communique Accuses UN of 'Provocations'

LD2604171794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1652 GMT 26 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Banja Luka, April 26 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb Army (VRS) on Tuesday [26 April] warned it would 'do everything to protect the lives' of its members and civilians if members of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) continued to open fire on Serb positions and settlements in northern Bosnia, as it said they had often done in the past ten days. A communique released by the VRS First Krajina Corps said that UNPROFOR provocations had been frequent on the Doboj front in the past 30 days, and that the UNPROFOR command had failed to take any steps to prevent them, that is, to prevent the direct siding of the international forces with the Muslims, although its attention had been drawn to the fact more than once. The communique said it was regrettable that the silence on the part of higher UNPROFOR commands meant their tacit approval of further provocations by UNPROFOR units.

The failure of UNPROFOR commands to respond to the addressed warnings seems to have encouraged UNPROFOR units to continue staging military provocations, which have not been countered by the Serb side, the communique said. The communique said one had the impression that the direct goal of such UNPROFOR actions was to provoke a response from Serb forces and then accuse them of attacking U.N. peace-keepers, which could be used as a pretext for air strikes against Serb positions, the communique set out. The communique specified that an UNPROFOR helicopter flew over Serb positions in the area of Banovici several times on Monday and opened fire on them. The communique said U.N. peace-keepers in the occupied Serb village of Poljice, near Maglaj, had several times opened fire on Serb settlements and positions on the western slopes of Mount Ozren, and that UNPROFOR units in Zavidovici had opened fire from armoured vehicles on the Serb settlement of Dolac.

Columns of armoured UNPROFOR vehicles coming from Lukavac practically daily demonstrate force only a hundred meters or so from VRS positions at Milino Selo, Sizje and Donja Brijesnica, the communique said. The communique recalled Bosnian Croat reports according to which U.N. peace-keepers are installing radar systems for the detection of Serb artillery positions in the area of Maglaj and regularly sending on the relevant information to Muslim units.

Muslims, Croats Coordinate Federation Law

LD2704181994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] At a meeting in Split, groups of experts of the governments of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and Bosnia-Herzegovina have coordinated a draft law on the government of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and a law on the federation ministries. The future government of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is to have 12 ministries, at least five of which will be headed by representatives of the Croat nation. In addition, two ministers will be without portfolio—the government will have 15 members, prime minister included, it is laid down in the draft law on the government of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Zaran Buntic, the chairman of the Judicial Council [Sudbeno Vijece] of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, said that the second round of expert negotiations on the draft laws on the official gazette of the federation and on the stamp of the federation would be held soon. The draft law on the delineation of cantons is also being prepared.

'Fierce' Inter-Muslim Fighting Reported

LD2604131794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1220 GMT 26 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Petrovac, April 26 (TANJUG)—Local Moslem media report fierce inter-Moslem clashes in Western Bosnia over the past 24 hours. The heaviest battles between supporters of moderate western Bosnia leader Fikret Abdic and troops of radical Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic are being fought in the areas of Varoska Rijeka and Buzim. Both sides are firing from small arms, anti- aircraft guns, machine-guns, mortars and grenade launchers. Each side claims to have inflicted heavy casualties on the other side and to have taken prisoners, but the front line has remained intact.

The two sides recently exchanged prisoners in the presence of U.N. and Red Cross officials. Abdic's supporters released 280 prisoners in exchange for 75 prisoners held by the other side. The prisoners released from Bihac by Izetbegovic's troops say they were starved and maltreated, while those held in Abdic's stronghold of Velika Kladusa did not have any complaints.

TANJUG: Muslim-Croat Relations 'Still Tense'

LD2604011394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2312 GMT 25 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—A bomb blast destroyed a mosque in Croat-controlled Livno in southwestern Bosnia early on Monday morning, Croatian radio confirmed. In addition to Zepce, Kiseljak, and

West Mostar, Livno is now the fourth town in the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, the state of Bosnian Croats, in which Croats have destroyed all Moslem religious objects. Bosnian Croats and Moslems, who fought bitter battles for territories since the spring of last year, especially in central and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, signed an agreement on a bi-national federation early this year under strong pressure of Washington. As agreed, the federation would later enter into a confederation with neighbouring croatia.

Despite the signed agreement, Croat-Moslem relations are still tense. This is evident also in the limited freedom of movement for Moslem civilians and Moslem-owened vehicles in certain parts of Croat-controlled Bosnia-Herzegovina. The two sides also disagree on the issue of who will be the first president of their common state, although the deadline for this has long passed. The Croatian side demands that the first president be a Croat, but is willing to agree to a compromise solution—that the president be a Moslem (Haris Silajdzic) but not Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic who has been nominated for this office.

Croatian Leadership Condemns Muslim 'Media War'

LD2604141794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] The Presidential Council of the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosna, at a session which is still in progress, is considering the last three meetings of the highest-ranking representatives of the Bosniak Muslim and Croat sides concerning the election of the leaders of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation. Here is a report by Zdenko Vranjes:

[Vranjes] The delegation of the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosna has already been to Sarajevo three times and they were also willing to reach a compromise in order for a political agreement on the nationality of the president, vice president and prime minister of the federation to be reached. Despite the fact that the deadline for the election of the leaders of the federation is drawing to an end—according to the constitution, the assembly should reach a decision on this by 30 April at the latest—the Bosniak side, in the talks hitherto, has shown absolute disinterest and a lack of readiness to discuss this. The Bosniak side, furthermore, has also failed to fulfil the obligations it took on with the agreement between the government of Herzeg-Bosna and the government in Sarajevo.

In addition to this assessment, the Presidential Council of the Croat republic of Herzeg-Bosna also concluded that the Croatian representatives and the authorities of Herzeg-Bosna—if the Bosniak side does not soon fulfill its obligations and fails to come up with an initiative for political agreements—will interpret this as its unwillingness to implement the Washington agreement consistently and will propose measures within its competence which, in this situation would protect Croatian interests. This conclusion could even have been sharper in view of the fact that several examples were cited which indicate that the Bosniak side has not taken the provisions of the Washington agreement sufficiently seriously and responsibly. Both in Sarajevo and in Mostar there are all too many public statements which show that the Bosniak side has not halted the media war, but is even intensifying it. The Bosniak members of the commission for development are not coming to meetings because they are refusing to answer the question of where are the 26 Croats, whom Muslim soldiers took away from their prison in Bugojno and led off in an unknown direction. Bosniak representatives are not only not giving proof of their interest in implementing the constitution of the federation, but want to conduct all talks on the basis of old relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and not on the basis of the declared constitution of the federation, it was said at the session of the Herzeg-Bosna Presidential Council which is still going on in Mostar.

Roso Relieved, Appointed to Joint Command

AU2704072794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] The Presidential Council of so-called Herceg-Bosna in Mostar has decided to relieve General Ante Roso of his duties as chief of General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. Roso has been appointed to a military post in the joint command of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. Major-General Milivoj Petkovic has been appointed chief of the HVO General Staff.

UN To Reinforce Peacekeeping Force

AU2704164394 Paris AFP in English 1629 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] United Nations, April 27 (AFP)—The UN Security Council gave the green light Wednesday for the deployment of an additional 6,500 troops to reinforce the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia. A resolution adopted by unanimity by the 15 council members authorized an increase of up to 6,500 additional troops for UNPROFOR, 150 military observers and 275 civilian police personnel.

Izetbegovic: 'Keys to War' in Hands of Serbs

AU2604185994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent letters to U.S. President Clinton, Russian President Yeltsin, and Saudi King Fahd, in which he asks them to follow the situation in Gorazde after NATO's ultimatum, and to launch new initiatives for the political settlement of the war in

Bosnia-Herzegovina. In his letter to Russian President Yeltsin, President Izetbegovic says, among other things, the following:

We have received with pleasure and hope your firm condemnation of the bloodshed among the civilians in Gorazde. We favor a political solution to the conflict. However, the aggressor is not giving up the idea of destroying Bosnia and exterminating our people even after two years. The keys to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina are in the hands of Belgrade and Pale, the letter states. In our hands are only the keys of resistance and determination to persevere in this unfair struggle between good and evil, between democracy and fascism. Esteemed Mr. President, we welcome the activities of your government with regard to Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the end of the letter to Boris Yeltsin, President Alija Izetbegovic officially invites the Russian President to visit Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In his letter to Saudi King Fahd, President Alija Izetbegovic stressed his demand that in future peace talks on our country, in addition to the United States, Russia, the United Nations, and the European Union, the Conference of Islamic Countries also take part as a fifth equal member.

Silajdzic Views Peace Efforts, U.S. Position

AU2704171194 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (Europe Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 94 pp 8, 9

[Interview with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic given to OSLOBODJENJE on 10 April; place not given: "The United States Insists on Democratic Bosnia"]

[Text] The conversation with Prime Minister Silajdzic was carried out in an atmosphere full of expectation for any news from Gorazde to come in, on the 10th day of the aggressor's offensive against the town that has nothing left to defend itself with after two years of blockade. On Sunday, 10 April, in the afternoon hours, telegrams and messages from the field with dramatic reports of the aggressor's tanks rumbling into a southern suburb of Gorazde, just one kilometer away from the hospital, kept coming in. At the same time messages from foreign leaders and from all over the world were coming in, expressing great concern over the fate of Gorazde. Immediately after 1600 the prime minister was informed that NATO planes had set off for Gorazde. At the moment when the prospects for air strikes were still indefinite, we started our interview with the question: To what extent is the international community responsible for the tragedy of the people in eastern Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] The fact is that we are witnessing such a situation in Gorazde because the international community has intervened so far by benefiting the aggressor. They have forbidden us to defend ourselves. Therefore I think that the international community is responsible for the death of 200,000 people, for the hardships of refugees, orphans, for the backsliding of Bosnia into a stone age. The world owes Bosnia a lot, and everything it does, repays just a small part of the debt.

[OSLOBODJENJE] In what way did the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina help the defense of eastern Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] The defense of eastern Bosnia last year was obstructed because the warlords in Herzegovina blocked the convoys carrying weapons. It first happened in Metkovic, and then in Grude. Just a small amount of the weapons passed. If we had procured those weapons, the situation in eastern Bosnia would have been different.

[OSLOBODJENJE] When speaking about procurement of arms, these days, for the first time, your role in that is being mentioned, but also denied. Can you explain that?

[Silajdzic] Following my initiative, donors to the cause of Bosnia-Herzegovina were urged, so they started carrying out a plan for supplying the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina with arms. This project, being, of course, not the only one, forwarded arms worth $36 million to air and sea ports in a neighboring country, given that one ship (worth $7 million) was halted. The $20-million shipment of arms from that ship is still waiting in a port for the arms embargo to be lifted. There are documents on that case, while the entire consignment, short of the aforementioned ship about which LJILJAN has also written, reached the planned destination. What happened thereafter is something else. All I know is that the 2,000-ton consignment was halved on its way through Herzegovina. In any case, a considerable amount of arms did reach central Bosnia in time, at the very beginning of clashes with the Croatian extremists. "Strijele" missiles from that contingent helped the defenders to halt the aggressor's tanks in Sarajevo, Olovo, Gradacac, and so forth. Unfortunately, these matters, and the people who took part in such projects, cannot be discussed publicly, which is being misused in the power struggle. That is wrong. It is not a right time for bargaining over merits. Now I have to acknowledge, without any feigned modesty, that it was an excellently done job, and I do not intend to account for my conduct to anybody.

[OSLOBODJENJE] You are the head of the first government with a Bosnian platform. How do you assess the first five months of its work?

[Silajdzic] Just remember what the moment was like when we started. We were confronted with three or four months of winter, and the main task was to survive. We had to ensure at least minimal quantities of gas, power, food.... And all that had to be done by negotiations with the aggressor, or in any other way. I think that we passed the test, and also thanks to the fact that the winter was mild. As for the government itself, we accomplished the task thanks to the enthusiasm and devotion of the people who took up the job. I believe that I am to be given least credit for that.

Of course, certain things could have been done much better. After all, the assembly has paid tribute to the new government, which is a great honor for us, because

normally, on such occasions, it is negative things that are focused on. Of course, a great help was that the citizens of this country have shown unbelievable patience, willpower, and readiness to live on a minimum. I do not consider myself to be a good organizer, nor am I a good administrator, although those properties are very important for a prime minister. It seems that all of us were going beyond our own limits in the past months, and somehow managed to survive the winter. Now we are at a turning point. Which is a different story, though.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Are you referring to the Bosniak-Croatian federation?

[Silajdzic] I think that by the agreement on the federation a strategically very important step has been made toward establishing Bosnia-Herzegovina that we are fighting and endeavoring for. That is to say, for an integral, undivided, and democratic state without national territories. Bosnia may be carved up only by blood, and that is what extreme fascists on both sides tried to accomplish, but despite enormous numbers of casualties and unprecedented violence they have eventually failed.

Of course, they failed in the first place thanks to the people who thwarted the forming of the Croatian national territories aimed at seceding from Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are struggling to make the territories with a Serbian national majority somehow integrate into a unified state, in the least painful way possible. That struggle will be lengthy and difficult. The war is not over yet, and the aggressor still aspires to add a great part of Bosnia-Herzegovina to greater Serbia.

We are resisting such aspirations by fighting against the aggressor, by activities on the international stage, and by telling the truth. It was necessary to incite the international public opinion, and in the first place to explain where Bosnia-Herzegovina is at all, and what is happening in it. It was necessary to represent Bosnia, to open doors, make friends, develop a diplomatic framework, and all that without a single pause, starting with zero and broken communication. In short, we were supposed to behave like a state, because the world does not change because of Bosnia. The fact is that Bosnia-Herzegovina is a recognized country today, that doors are open to it almost everywhere, it is a member of almost all the international organizations, and it is very respected abroad.

[OSLOBODJENJE] What are the risks of the turning point that you mentioned?

[Silajdzic] The turning point is in our attempts, and I think we are on the best possible way, to remedy the consequences of the aggression in a way that ensures a civilized and democratic future. The federation, whose constitution has already been adopted, is the best possible move, because it makes possible a reorganization in one part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the one that is not occupied, enabling us to improve the current situation, and also to establish foundations for the future. The central government is strong enough to guarantee the functioning of the state, as well as enough cantonal autonomy that will ensure unobstructed regional development, which is a European trend. As early as now we are being invited to continue the talks, which started before the war, with the representatives of the Italian region of Marca.

Such a state system ensures enough freedom in economics, religion, and culture, so that every citizen may express himself or herself in the way he or she wants. On the other hand, the multiethnic dimension, or rather polyvalence of Bosnia, has been preserved, and, as one of my friends put it, that polyvalence stretches from the East to the West, which is a comparative advantage that other countries do not have. Of course, if we are wise enough to make good use of it.

[OSLOBODJENJE] The Washington agreement is a confirmation of the international support to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ostensibly, everything has come about quite unexpectedly. What was its preface?

[Silajdzic] The agreement did not come about overnight. There were many negotiations. Unfortunately, many things, when speaking of diplomacy and logistics, are not supposed to be publicly explained. At a last year's meeting—Alija Izetbegovic, Franjo Tudjman, Hrvoje Sarinic, Miomir Zuzul, Ivo Komsic, and myself were present—a possible agreement of that kind was discussed. But, to be honest, the U.S. role was decisive. True, many people were surprised at the agreement. In the field, the people could hardly wait for something like that to happen, and that is the most important thing. Right now, a great task is awaiting us—how to implement the agreement, since almost a half of the country is occupied.

[OSLOBODJENJE] The United States supports Bosnia. What does the United States expect from Bosnia in return?

[Silajdzic] There is no doubt: The United States expects a democratic system in Bosnia. Just as Madeleine Albright stressed here, the Americans are impressed by our consistency in maintaining a civilized attitude toward different cultures, and particularly in the field, they are impressed by our tolerance. Why is the United States so important? I have always considered it to be important. Europe is always exclusive, and the leading powers always deal with such issues by applying colonial methods, or in the way they had dealt with the things in the two world wars. In that respect the United States has a much fresher approach, and better understands the relations in Bosnia. When somebody asks why we need the United States, I reply: Whenever we are in the situation to mend the injustice done to us by the imposition of the arms embargo against Bosnia, like, for example, in the case of Mt Igman, or in Gorazde, we turn to the United States. We know that Russians are involved on the side of Serbia. Only a political ignorant would not seek a balance in the United States. If we want

Bosnia to be a global issue, we must aspire to having the global factor number on our side. To accomplish that one needs time, effort, and knowledge.

[OSLOBODJENJE] You said that the United States expects Bosnia to establish a democratic system. To what extent do you think we meet those criteria, and are the conditions being created for the development of a modern democracy?

[Silajdzic] I have noticed that in recent times people are afraid of speaking out. Some of them do not even want to talk. Says a deputy: "I do not need leather jackets, even if they were mine." [as published] I think that fear has to do with several overambitious people, who fuel such an atmosphere. The Muslims care about the freedom within a compass that does not hinder the freedom of other people. In terms of the Bosniak people, the condensed history and experiences created a healthy attitude toward life and the world. Those are traits that cannot be hidden. Our virtues, being our fortune, must come into prominence. Our negative characteristics are to be found in a not very great sense for organization. One should create such a climate in which issues can be freely discussed, just like in any other democratic state, and even when dealing with weaknesses. Undoubtedly, there are many talented people, being an elementary civilizational advantage. Krleza [Miroslav, famous Croatian author] used to say that people in Bosnia were familiar with books when in other provinces nobody knew what a book is. That source of talents still exists, and we have to make good use of it. The real meaning of merhamet [charity] is that of a civilizational achievement. That is the awareness of the necessity to cooperate with others. Therefore we have to revitalize advantages that were being acquired over many generations. We need to remain good Bosniaks, but never again naive Bosniaks. That kind of balance ought to be accomplished.

[OSLOBODJENJE] The impression is, however, that in Bosnia one rules more by charisma rather than by developing a system of democratic institutions and relations. Is there any danger of one-party rule?

[Silajdzic] We were not allowed to develop either institutions or relations. We had to survive. We have created preconditions for that, yet a one-party system is still living in us. It is very difficult to get rid of it. The future generations will not be burdened by the past. We still are. The only way of getting rid of that is to strengthen pluralism—market competition, competition of thoughts and ideas. The more we disregard different opinions, the less use we shall have of our potentials. I have heard that the Bosnian refugee children abroad are the most successful pupils in schools. You see, that potential exists, and we have to do everything possible to develop it. We must not be afraid of success and competition. Do you know what our basis is? Western analyses show that thanks to humanitarian resources in the first place we shall overcome the crisis. For that reason pluralism and democracy must be developed.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Is there any difference between your and Izetbegovic's view of Bosnia?

[Silajdzic] No, there is not. The efforts made by some people to stage disagreements, and to generate conflict artificially between me and the president, are quite obvious. That is being done by inventing diverse stories, creating lobbies. Only the people who have a surplus of time can afford such activities. I do not have time for such things. Intriguing, lobbying, making factions, supporting different factions, cannot last long, and building the state on such premises has no future.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Do recent shifts of personnel at the state-run television have anything to do with the aforementioned activities?

[Silajdzic] I have been informed about those shifts. I am not familiar with the causes. In any case, arbitrary elimination of people without legal-based judgments would simply be a recurrence of something that has already been seen before, something to which the people said a big "No!" in the first free elections. As for myself, I need to express my personal gratitude to all the people who have managed to perform their jobs over the past two years in the interest of the country—starting with a nurse who goes every day from Alipasino Polje, where she lives, to work in the hospital, to the people working at the television, or those working in local community centers. Not all citizens are fit for fighting on the front lines, but still they have been doing whatever they can to help, with more or less success.

[OSLOBODJENJE] After the NATO ultimatum, and the Washington agreement, the atmosphere has been as if the war is over, and as if just a small step divides us from peace. What do you think?

[Silajdzic] The war is not over, but there are people who behave as though it is. I am afraid that there is ever less struggling for Bosnia, while ever more struggling for power. Though it is more about individual cases, that is still enough to poison the atmosphere, to weaken our unity, and instill distrust. At this moment there is no better gift we can give to our enemy. Which is to say, it is about people who think that the only way for them to come to prominence is through conflicting situations. When there is no outside enemy, then such people look for an inside enemy, just as the doctrine of the Yugoslav People's Army nicely taught me. I have to illustrate this with one example. Several days ago some people lined up the personnel of the Bosnian embassy in Zagreb and made a complete chaos, although the embassy staff worked in impossible conditions, and took care of the things they are not even supposed to take care of. Their office hours were until morning. I witnessed that myself. Those people even carried the wounded that had been literally unloaded at wee hours in front of the embassy. Those people are now disappointed and furious. Nobody is allowed any more to line up people and yell at them. Nobody is supposed to put up with somebody's frustrations caused by unrealized ambitions. Some people

behave as if there has been too little fear, shelling, poverty, and suffering so far. Also, the work performed by the government cannot be depreciated any more, which is, unfortunately, done here, as well as abroad, nor is it necessary to prompt journalists to criticize the government, because they are capable of doing that themselves. Such an understanding of freedom, human dignity, politics, will not pass. Some damage may be done by such activities, but I repeat, all that is short-lived. Simply, people cannot and should not put up with that any longer.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Is the distribution of official posts a stumbling bloc for the further implementation of the Bosniak-Croatian agreement?

[Silajdzic] Whether the first president will be Bosniak or Croat was not agreed upon in Washington. The attitude of the Party of Democratic Action is well-known. If you want to know my personal attitude, then I have to tell you that, if there is a man who has really deserved that post, then it is President Izetbegovic. I think that by following that line a political agreement can be reached. There is a plenty of work to be done for anybody. However, a very difficult question is awaiting us in the future—how to make it possible for the refugees to return to their homes. In solving that issue we shall need the help of the international community and the UNHCR. We shall also need aid of building materials, in order to develop any sort of housing program. That will be a greater problem than food supplies. We have to start any sort of production.

[OSLOBODJENJE] Both in wartime and in peacetime the public is interested in privileges that go along with power. What kind of apartment does the Bosnian prime minister live in? Did you use the priority right for being supplied with power?

[Silajdzic] Unfortunately, merits are already being rewarded, so that villas in Switzerland and apartments in Vienna are being dealt out. My 48 square meter apartment was not given to me either by the former or by the present administration. I earned it during my 10 years of working abroad, in order not to be driven to beg somebody for an apartment. That apartment is unfit for living for the time being, so I have been living at my sister's. I did not use the priority right for power. Until recently the neighborhood that I am living in was not supplied even with gas. We survived on firewood, just like our neighbors. If there is anything positive about this war, then I would say it is neighborly relations. Such relations have to be maintained.

[OSLOBODJENJE] While we were talking, the news on air strikes against Serb positions around Gorazde came in. There was no need to ask Silajdzic to comment on it, so this is his first reaction to the news:

[Silajdzic] Neither the air strikes in Gorazde nor the ultimatum to Serbs around Sarajevo came about as the result of a phone call. The people reached for their weapons and made possible for us to prove ourselves as a military factor in the first place, and thereafter as a political factor. It is the people who made possible for us to build our position on the vision of a free and democratic country. That is the way we made friends, as many as it is possible to make in politics. By following that way and sticking to our principles we shall maintain the positions that we have. To tell you the truth, I feel really amazed at the sight of a man in a trench filled with water up to his knees, who has only four bullets left to remain with on the front line. We have to care for such men, their families, and particularly for the families of the fallen, shehits [a Turkish word, denoting a man who fell for his country]. We, as the government, have done all we could. If it happens that the care for those people remains just a proclamation of the current, or any other government, I am sure that those who were able enough to stand up and defend their country will be able enough to speak up and demand their rights.

Deputy Warns Serbs Planning New Attack

AU2704115894 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Apr 94 p 6

[Report by Mirko Sajler: "The Serbs Are Preparing To Conquer Bosnian Posavina"]

[Text] Osijek—Vice president of the Croatian People's Party and member of parliament Ivica Vrkic has sent another open letter to Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic warning him of possible new "war games" of the Bosnian Serbs, and plans in connection with Croatian territories. Vrkic's claims are at the same time interesting and frightening. Precisely because things might well turn out the way Vrkic predicts, we carry the letter in full:

"Mr. Granic!

"Prompted by the latest events around Gorazde, and in the interest of protecting the Croatian state interests, I propose that your government draft and submit to the UN Security Council a proposal suggesting the passing of a special decision—resolution—that would expand the area of protected zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina to include Bosnian Posavina, or more precisely, the free enclave around Orasje.

"It is more than obvious that the Serbs intend to expand their corridor in Bosnian Posavina militarily (their generals discuss this openly) and are bringing in large quantities of heavy arms in order to carry out preparations for the final conquest of all of Posavina. This game includes sporadic attacks on Zupanja and the region along the Sava River on the Croatian side, aimed at provoking the Croatian Army, which would give the Serbs an alibi for the final assault on the free territory of Posavina.

"Our government's proposal, together with one simultaneously submitted to the UN Security Council by the Bosnian Government, would reveal the goal of the Bosnian Serbs in time. If the Security Council were to accept the initiative proclaiming a protected zone around Bosnian Posavina (the enclave of Orasje), this would prevent the Serbs from carrying out their plans and conquering Posavina until the Security Council, the European Union, the United States, and Russia agree on how to protect Croatia and the Bosniaks from the Serbian onslaught.

"The loss of Posavina would not only mean the loss of territory populated by Croats, it would also be free territory through which the Serbs could unite Serbs in the occupied Croatian and Bosnian areas with Serbia. The loss would moreover result in a new wave of refugees in Croatia, which is further reason for alerting the relevant factors in international politics," reads Ivica Vrkic's letter addressed to Mate Granic.

UN: RSK-Croatia Cease-Fire Holding

LD2604151194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1424 GMT 26 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, April 26 (TANJUG)—UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] chief of staff in the sector south, Joseph Ngare, said on Tuesday that the two sides in conflict, the republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia, are observing the ceasefire and showing a readiness to continue to implement the agreement on the cessation of hostilities and the separation of forces signed in Zagreb at the end of March.

At a regular press conference, representatives of U.N. peace-keeping forces announced that UNPROFOR civilian police, 4,200 of them, together with the peacekeepers of the republic of Serb Krajina started on Tuesday to patrol and enforce peace and order in settlements along the line of separation.

The republic of Serb Krajina was formed in 1991 in parts of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia settled by Serbs as their response to the forceable secession of the Zagreb regime from the former federation and is under U.N. Protection (UNPA) since March 1992.

U.N. observers in sector south warned this time once again about the great danger of mines placed during the withdrawal of the forces in conflict or left behind earlier, but the representative of the sector for information, Alan Roberst, was not able to say which side had done that.

The mines removing operations are progressing slowly since the Croatian side, unlike the Serb, has not yet made available the exact data, maps and plans about the mine fields.

Two Krajina Serb army troops lost their lives, while four were wounded by mine explosions last weekend when they were visiting their village. Last week, two Canadian battalion members within UNPROFOR were also wounded.

These are the main reasons why the return of local inhabitants to settlements where military opoerations have been going on until recently is still banned.

The headquarters of the Serb Krajina army announced that the Croatian Army violated on Monday the ceasefire agreement and opened fire from small arms towards the zone of responsibility of the Lika corps in the wider Kapela area.

Serb-Muslim Battles Reported in Travnik, Vitez

LD2704215394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2103 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] In the Travnik and Vares regions there are reports of battles between Bosnian Serb forces and the Bosnian army. According to HVO [Croatian Defense Council] sources there are heavy artillery battles being waged in

parts of the Travnik region. The HVO also reports that there are artillery battles between the Serbs and Muslims in the Vitez area.

Mesic Discusses Issues With Russian Delegation

LD2604151894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Croatian Assembly President Stipe Mesic and a group of deputies have received a delegation of the Duma, the lower house of the Russian parliament. The delegation was headed by Kostantin Zatulin, president of this house's committee for cooperation with fellow nationals. Our Andjelko Perincic was among the reporters who attended one part of this meeting.

[Perincic] At the start, Zatulin said that the deputies to Russia's Duma are concerned about the situation in the area of the former Yugoslavia, so at their last session they voted for a decision to urgently send their delegation to our region where they could talk about how the warring parties view solutions to the crisis. He also told his hosts that his delegation has already visited Knin, Belgrade, and Vukovar. They will visit Pale, too, he said. He cited the official titles of these unrecognized state entities such as the Srpska republic and the even more self-styled republic of Serb Krajina. In his reply Assembly President Stipe Mesic explained in detail the history and causes of the collapse of the Versailles Yugoslavia and the breakdown of the socialist federation which Tito had taken to the threshold of a confederal state, especially by the constitution of 20 years ago.

The conflict, instigated by Serbia in pursuit of its territorial ambitions, with weaponry belonging to the common federation of the past, can only be resolved by using force, by meeting force with greater force, as the aggressor does not want negotiations, Mesic said. It is also of essential importance for the world to restore the fundamental principles of the inviolability of borders. He also criticized the Greater Serbia theory—according to which all Serbians should live in a single state—by raising the following counterquestion: What would happen if the same demands were to be raised by Russians, Hungarians, Germans, and other peoples? He also added that there would have been no war had the world thwarted Serbian aggression by greater force before Vukovar.

The head of Russia's lower house of parliament first demanded that the meeting should continue without the presence of the press, so reporters were forced to leave the talks following these demands.

ΩEconomic Developments Noted in Press

94P20692A

[Editorial Report] The following reports on economic developments in the Republic of Croatia are from periodicals published in the republic.

Exclusive Residences of Croatia's 'New Ruling Class'

Although the "most attractive land" in the northern part of Zagreb costs as much as 4,500 German marks [DM] per square meter and building permits alone cost as much as DM200,000, businessmen and politicians are "rushing" to buy them and are building more and more expensive villas and even castles. The Zagreb weekly GLOBUS on 18 March reports in an article entitled "Northern Zagreb: Forbidden City of Croatia's New Ruling Class" that Zagreb's elite housing zones are in Prekrizje, Pantovcek, Zelengaj, Cmrok, Tuskanac, and Salata. According to the weekly, Mario Pleic, who claims to be working in state security, is building a residence worth DM4,000,000 in Pantovcek, without a valid permit. The family of the automobile transporter Vuckovic, in Gornje Prekrizje No. 55, bought one of the most beautiful villas in the northern part of the city, with a luxurious swimming pool. In Zelengaj, Stjepan Pecevski, deputy minister of internal affairs, became the owner of a 93-square-meter residence, and Milan Brezak, a "high official" in the Interior Ministry, and Perica Juric, one of the founders of the ruling Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) and an assembly representative, each bought a 112-square-meter residence. GLOBUS lists numerous other politicians and businessmen who have purchased luxurious properties in northern Zagreb and mentions a new "interesting" construction that has "sprouted up" in Prekrizje: a "real castle with towers and arches" whose owner remains unknown.

Rijeka Shipyard Sells Ship to Private Purchaser

A Rijeka resident of Herzegovinian origin, Jure Kutle, until recently an oil-tanker captain, has purchased a ship, the Sv. Antun Padovanski (St. Anthony of Padua), from the 3 Maj Shipyard in Rijeka for $45 million, becoming the biggest private shipowner in Croatia. In an interview he gave while "surrounded by bodyguards" that was published in the 18 March issue of GLOBUS, Kutle states that the ship will most probably be sailing under the Liberian flag because Croatian taxes are too high. He told GLOBUS that he is also in the process of founding the Kutle Line shipping company. He worked as an oil-tanker captain for 30 years, GLOBUS reports, and, "thanks to lucrative investments," he has "enough money to buy several ships."

Zagreb Construction Firm Taking Over Split Partner

The Zagreb firm Montmontaza, which specializes in the construction and equipping of petroleum and petrochemical processing plants and petroleum terminals and pipelines, recently bought 25 percent of the shares of the largest Split construction company, Lavcevic, for DM11,800,000, according to the 13 April Split daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. Montmontaza Director Ivica Nuic told the daily that Montmontaza had previously purchased 12.7 percent of Lavcevic's shares from pension funds and a further 8 to 10 percent from small shareholders. An agreement has been made for the purchase of another 4.3 percent of shares from the Split

bank, so that Montmontaza has become the majority shareholder in Lavcevic. Nuic says that his company bought the Lavcevic shares "to protect its interests," since the two firms are working together on a long-term project in Kazakhstan valued at $43 million. Montmontaza will try to buy all the remaining Lavcevic shares except the two blocks that are not for sale: the 6.2 percent that belongs to the Republic of Croatia and the 7.3 percent reserved for owner restitution.

Record Share Sale by Privatization Fund

At a 7 April public auction conducted by the Croatian Privatization Fund at the Zagreb stock exchange, 25,479 shares of two enterprises were sold for a total of approximately DM2,548,000, or 9.35 billion Croatian dinars. The value of the transactions represents a one-day record for this year. The 8 April issue of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA reports that the bulk of the trading consisted of the "Kapital Trade" brokerage firm's purchase of 25,421 shares of stock in the Split confectioner "Bobis" for DM2,542,000. The remainder was accounted for by the "Investco" company's acquisition of 58 shares of the "Croatia Auto" firm of Zagreb for DM5,800. Thus, total trade in 14 regular auctions conducted by the Croatian Privatization Fund this year has amounted to about DM6.8 million, which represents about 49,000 shares in 27 enterprises, the daily says.

Gligorov's Visit to Bulgaria Viewed

AU2704204194 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 27 Apr 94 p 5

[Article by Gjorgji Ristevski: "Liberation From Myths and Illusions"]

[Text] Sofia, 27 April— "I am very satisfied and it was not by pure chance when I said that the visit of President Kiro Gligorov to Bulgaria was of a historic nature. Not because it is the first official visit, but because it represents the end of a period in the relations between Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Bulgaria, and the beginning of a new one." At a news conference held yesterday afternoon, these were the words with which the President of the Republic of Bulgaria Zelyu Zhelev assessed the visit and the discussions held with President Gligorov.

"This is our fourth meeting and my feeling is that we can urge the promotion of relations between the two countries. The Republic of Macedonia, as an independent country, has proven to be a condition for the stability in the Balkans. Macedonia is opposed to any alliances or prominences, because they can lead to new divisions in the Balkans. The Balkans are mixed, so we must respect each other and must not allow constant repetitions of Balkan wars, which brought nothing good to any of the nations." This is how President Kiro Gligorov assessed his first official visit to Bulgaria at yesterday's news conference.

In front of hundreds of journalists, the two presidents answered a number of "ticklish" questions, such as what was the number of Bulgarians in Macedonia. President Kiro Gligorov replied that, according to the last census, around 3,000 persons declared themselves as Bulgarians, but Macedonia will soon have a census under an international control, and that it was in our own interest to know who lives in Macedonia and in what number. A similar question was asked of Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, to which he replied that according to the last census around 7,000 persons declared themselves Macedonians, and only 600-700 did not state their mother tongue was Bulgarian.

There were several questions concerning the non-signed agreements between the two states. The dispute came out when Macedonia refused to sign the documents which said that the "documents will be signed in the official languages of the two states," because the Macedonian side considered it should be stated that the agreements would be signed in Macedonian and Bulgarian.

The documents are to be signed in the official languages of the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Bulgaria. Therefore, in two languages. "Our side insisted on accepting this formulation," President Zhelyu Zhelev said, adding that the languages are a reality and that there should be no obstacles in promoting the relations. "If we think of a language in different formulations, it is a problem of great concern. We cannot sign anything that is not written in our own language, because the language is a part of the identity of a nation. We should not go back to the past, we should go to the reality instead, and the language in which the documents will be signed is one of the questions. I believe that democratic Bulgaria will soon take off that issue from the agenda," President Kiro Gligorov said.

After the afternoon news conference and the solemn farewell at the "Boyana" Residence, the two-day official visit of the Macedonian president to the Republic of Bulgaria was accomplished. In the morning President Gligorov visited the Embassy of the Republic of Macedonia in Sofia and held discussions with some Macedonian representatives in Sofia.

The working part of the visit continued also in the afternoon. President Gligorov met Mr. Evgeni Matinchev, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Bulgaria, with whom he discussed the agreements that are expected to be signed soon. First of all, the agreements are related to the railroad links between the two states, the economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries. On the other hand, according to the protocol, President Gligorov was supposed to meet Prime Minister Lyuben Berov; however, this visit was canceled due to sickness. After the discussions, the deputy prime minister and his wife organized lunch for the Macedonian president, and in the afternoon President Gligorov addressed the delegates of the Bulgarian National Assembly, which was broadcast by radio and television. The delegates and the numerous diplomatic representatives greeted the arrival of President Kiro Gligorov in the Parliament with loud applause.

After the introductory speech of the Bulgarian Chairman of Parliament Yordanov, President Gligorov addressed the Bulgarian parliamentarians.

"Today we all share the responsibility of taking history as a guide, and using our own and other people's experiences to the maximum. It is indispensable for us to learn the lesson about living our own lives, but all of us near each other. I firmly believe that the conscious commitment to coexistence and mutual confidence can be the key to peace and stability in the Balkans. It is particularly important to abide by the principles of respect for the existing borders between the states, of respect for the rights of minorities, and to solve all problems through political and peaceful means. We managed to contribute to peace and stability in the region. We are convinced it is of real interest to other nations, too, including the Bulgarian people and all the citizens of the Republic of Bulgaria," President Gligorov said.

In his speech Gligorov reviewed the infrastructural connection with the East-West axis. "We consider that action," Gligorov said, "for which purpose financial means from Macedonia, Bulgaria, Albania, Turkey and

Italy have already been engaged, as an investment for the future and as an outline for the development of the whole region of southeast Europe."

Toward the end of his speech, Gligorov also reviewed the relations among the Balkan countries and nations. Recalling the historical complexity in their relations, Gligorov emphasized: "It is also filled with many conflicts and misunderstandings, often for and about Macedonia.

Unfortunately, some have still been maintained in some areas. However, some of the illusions covered with crust are being destroyed. We would like, and would be very happy, if that became the prevailing opinion in the Balkans, so as to liberate this region from the historical illnesses and myths once and for all. We must construct mutual confidence on a long-term and responsible basis as an indispensable premise for any agreement, as the key which will eliminate, on a long-term plan, all roots of conflicts and instability in the mutual relations throughout the region."

[Box, p 5]

Reactions in the Bulgarian Media

All Bulgarian newspapers and the radio and television of our eastern neighbor gave great publicity to the two-day official visit of Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov to Bulgaria. The distinguished STANDARD assessed yesterday that "Gligorov and Zhelev decided to put an end to the political dispute," explaining the importance of the information that the Macedonian president provoked a great interest not only with the Bulgarian and Macedonian journalists, but also with the numerous detachments of Greek and other foreign journalists following this visit.

Nearly all reports pointed out the "misunderstanding about the use of the languages" for which the Bulgarian side still claims that the interstate agreements should be signed in the "official languages of the two countries." The newspaper 24 CHASA, with a large circulation, went farthest in assessing the visit of Kiro Gligorov to Sofia, saying: "The language scandal between the two countries continues."

Gligorov Comments on Language Issue

AU2704155194 Skopje MIC in English 27 Apr 94

[Unattributed report: "Gligorov: The Language Problem—An Internal Question"]

[Text] "It is not our issue, it is their internal question," President Gligorov stated last night at the Skopje airport, upon his return from the two day official visit to Bulgaria, in his retrospective on the problem with the failure to sign any agreements because of the disputed formulation "Macedonian language."

"The Bulgarian Government made several remarks that will have to be reviewed by both sides, however, the problem is the formulation of the Macedonian language," said Gligorov.

"Our stance is clear—the Macedonian language cannot be controversial and it is not up for negotiations. These are two completely different languages and I think that we will make some progress in further talks."

Gligorov feels that President Zhelev has an understanding for this matter, it is simply a reality that has to be accepted like any other reality.

Country Charges Duties on Slovene Imports

94P20662A Ljubljana SLOVENIA WEEKLY in English 20-26 Mar 94 p 7

[Unattributed article: "New Macedonian Duties on Slovene Imports"]

[Text] Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] this week began charging two duties totaling 15 percent on the bulk of Slovene imports: a 7.5-percent levy and a 7.5-percent special duty designed to spread the tax burden.

The new duties apply to all classes of goods that make up Slovenia's most significant exports to Macedonia:

—furniture and other wooden products,

—poultry,

—paper and cardboard,

—tires,

—washing powders,

—cosmetics,

—household appliances.

This effectively means that the bilateral free trade agreement signed in 1992 is no longer in force.

Federal

Changes in Visa Rules for UN Personnel

LD2604154894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1457 GMT 26 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government's committee for cooperation with the U.N. Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) on Tuesday said the U.N. peace-keepers coming from the countries with which Yugoslavia has agreements on the elimination of visas would not need visas to enter Yugoslavia as of May 15. The Yugoslav Government had introduced entry visas and stay permits for all UNPROFOR members in mid-April. The government committee for cooperation with UNPROFOR took the stand that the mid-April decision did not pertain to the above specified cases, and instructed the Foreign and Interior Ministries to take the necessary steps.

The Yugoslav Government also decided in mid-April that its prior approval would have to be obtained for the entry and movement of UNPROFOR transportation vehicles on Yugoslav territory, and that UNPROFOR personnel carriers would have to use only the roads designated by Yugoslav authorities. The committee, for its part, decided that UNPROFOR in future pay for all services on Yugoslav territory, including the use of facilities, which Yugoslavia had covered so far.

Lilic on Sanctions, Montenegro-Serbia Conflict

LD2704120494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0849 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Podgorica, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], created two years ago, is no new state; its creation merely confirmed the will of the Serbian and Montenegrin people to set up their own state in a new way, FRY President Zoran Lilic stated today in an interview to Radio Montenegro. He said the current Yugoslavia "emerged under domestic and international conditions of general chaos." The creation of the FRY was a rational response by the Montenegrin and Serbian people to this chaos, Lilic stressed on the occasion of two-year anniversary of formation of the common state of Serbia and Montenegro. According to him, the founding, preservation, and strengthening of the FRY are values of such importance that their full meaning will only be able to be assessed in retrospect. Lilic also said that it is very important to preserve continuity in relation to the former Yugoslavia "both because of specific international rights, which will have to be recognized, and for the sake of the interests of parts of the nation outside the FRY."

Most political parties, according to Lilic, have understood that they cannot disregard the will of the people when it comes to the reasons for the founding and preservation of the FRY, and its prospects. The FRY president stated that "sporadic disagreements" between the two federal units are only a consequence of the difficult economic blockade and other unfavorable circumstances. According to him, "the Montenegrin people have stoically suffered many trials and tribulations" over the past two years. Lilic said the harsh blockade had interrupted many positive processes in the FRY. However, even in these conditions many changes for the better have been achieved. "During two years of condensed history the hardened forces have maintained themselves and will be ready for the time when the sanctions are lifted," Lilic stressed, expressing the hope that this would happen soon.

The FRY president on this occasion also repeated his view that a peaceful resolution of all the conflicts on the territory of the former Yugoslavia remains the only constructive option and firm orientation.

TANJUG: 1.5 Million on Brink of 'Poverty'

LD2604123794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1108 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (TANJUG)—The U.N. sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have brought to the brink of social poverty at least 1.5 million citizens by forcing them to seek Red Cross humanitarian aid. One of the parameters of the drastic overall impoverishment of the Yugoslavs, either left jobless by the sanctions or with considerably lower salaries, is the fact that 95 percent of parents of under-age children are unable to provide school snacks. Regular check-ups in Belgrade schools alone have shown that as many as 1,100 children suffer from undernourishment and aenemia, while many cases of fainting from hunger have been recorded. This is why the Red Cross of Belgrade last month began distributing meagre snacks to all pupils in Belgrade which has the biggest number of schools in the country.

Over 500,000 families, i.e. at least 1.5 million people, have so far registered for relief aid with the Yugoslav Red Cross. This is a drastic rise in the number of socially threatened citizens compared to two years ago, when the U.N.imposed sanctions against Yugoslavia and when 62,583 families (or 142,608 people) had asked for humanitarian aid. Demands for opening soup kitchens are arriving from all parts of the country. Owing to the efforts of the International Conference of the Red Cross (ICRC) the Yugoslav Red Cross managed to set up some one hundred soup kitchens which distribute 4,500 meals each day.

Today Yugoslavia has over one million unemployed, and those who have work cannot secure the minimum living conditions for their families. Monthly wages are barely sufficient for ten days as the price of the consumer basket by far exceeds the monthly earnings.

On January 24 the Yugoslav Government introduced a new economic program of monetary reconstruction and

economic revival. In the two months of its implementation, the living standards of the citizens gradually began growing and the hyper-inflation, which had soared to world record highs, has been stemmed. Despite this, the U.N. sanctions have put the majority of Yugoslavs, even those who are still employed, in the category needing humanitarian aid.

Serbia

Milosevic Receives Russian Duma Delegation

LD2604141694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1224 GMT 26 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received a delegation of Russia's State Duma headed by General Nikolay Maksimovich Bezborodov, deputy president of the State Duma defense committee.

In their open and cordial talks with Slobodan Milosevic the representatives of the Russian parliament expressed support for Serbia's peace efforts and voiced their unanimous stand that economic sanctions against the FRY should be lifted unconditionally, according to a statement released by the office of the Serbian president. These sanctions are essentially an expression of discriminatory policies, something that is at odds with the principle of equality in international relations. The economic blockade of the FRY imposed by the international community is in deep contravention of modern and democratic commitments to integration in the worldm, since it is one of the most inhumane actions taken against a people at the end of the 20th century, it was said at today's meeting between President Milosevic and the Russian parliamentarians.

In the opinion of the members of the Russian parliament, Russia should help, with its principled and objective attitudes to the parties in the Yugoslav crisis, to find a just political solution, something that is totally incompatible with the continuation of the unreasonable economic blockade against the FRY. Stressing that Serbia holds in high regard Russia's balanced and impartial attitudes, as well as its peace efforts aimed at bringing an end to the civil war in ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible and establish a just and stable peace in these lands, President Milosevic pointed out that in this context it is of great importance to restore the impartial role of the United Nations in the peace process in ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina and to abandon the policy of pressures, threats, and imposed solutions on the part of the international community. During the talks it was stressed that Serbia advocates an end to all hostilities and a political solution secured through a negotiating process.

FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also took part in today's talks between President Milosevic and the Russian parliamentarians.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Says Greece To Open Consulate

LD2704154094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 27 Apr 94

[Text] Podgorica, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic announced today that a Greek consulate would open in this Republic.

"In the course of a visit by Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs Karolos Papoulias some time ago we accepted with pleasure an offer by our guests to open a Greek consulate in Montenegro," Bulatovic said, adding that according to what he had learned, the Greek parliament has approved such a decision.

Replying to a question on the possibility of the opening of the consulates of other countries in Montenegro, Bulatovic said at a news conference that there was also interest in the opening of an Albanian consulate. Unfortunately, he added, "because of the current political situation, this idea has not yet reached the phase of realization."

The Montenegrin president stressed that the foreign policy orientation of the government and the leadership of this republic is "to accept offers and set up a consular network", which would also make the entire diplomatic communication of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia more efficient.